

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION REVIEW

THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

FEATURED IN THIS ISSUE:

Federal-State Relations, by Governor G. Mennen Williams

The Impact of Mechanization, by Paul T. Veillette

Leadership for the Common Defense, by Col. G. A. Lincoln
and Lt. Col. A. A. Jordan, Jr.

AUTUMN 1957

VOLUME XVII NUMBER 4

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Public Administration Review

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THE BROADENING CONCERNS OF ADMINISTRATORS

THE traditional distinction between policy and administration was in many respects a comforting one for bureaucrats. The governmental world was divided between politics and nonpolitics, and the professional administrator occupied the more serene and protected waters. The distinction, of course, assumed that the important value judgments were made by nonadministrators. This permitted the central concern of administrators to be efficiency. The administrator's job was to reach a goal, set by others, as effectively and economically as possible. A rational administration, to maximize output and minimize input, was thus feasible. Generalized, transferable ways of securing efficiency, known as principles, became possible.

Even when students and practitioners first admitted that policy was made within the administration, it was easier to say that the administrators merely filled in the interstices of previously determined general policy. In these terms, consistency with the broader policy was the chief criterion of administrative policy-making. The administrator was still an errand boy, with only a limited choice as to route.

It was greatly disquieting, with more ramifications that we have yet admitted, when our examinations led us, in many cases rather reluctantly, to the conclusion that much policy is being made and that many political choices are occurring within administration, and that these are often in directions and areas not envisioned or understood by the presumed "political" superiors, and even sometimes toward ends which they would perhaps disapprove. Civil servants then become part of the process of *government*, not just of *administration*. Many civil servants are still not aware of what this change in perception means; they prefer the more comfortable position of neutral competence, and protest greatly when they are propelled conceptually into a new role.

In this new role, what is to be the touchstone of administrative endeavor? In making politico-administrative decisions, is the governing guideline to be responsibility to the people through elected politicians? Or is it to be an educated concern for the "public interest," a concern to give the people what they ought to want, on the assumption that no clear mandate from the people is likely on many or most matters dealt with by public administrators?

The question is not one of abstract speculation. Should the administrator put fluoride in the drinking water quietly, without discussion, or should he ask for a referendum? Should he try to integrate schools and public housing, or should he drag his feet as a majority of his community may wish? Should he finance hospital care for indigents by putting up the hospital rates for those able to pay, or should he insist that money for this purpose come from general taxation? Should he, within the limits of the law, try to get more people *on* public assistance rolls, or get more people *off* the rolls? Should he raid the country club in a dry town, or not? Should he buy locally, or at the best price?

It would be gratifying to answer these questions by a rule or formula, but rules and formulas are not easy to come by or to defend. Thoughtful administrators may agree that public servants, even more than most people, have not one or two but many masters. To the concept of a single line of responsibility has been added that of dual supervision. Both have merits—and limits. An effective public servant is sensitive to the direction and intensity of the wishes of many people and groups, and tries to shape his actions to please as many as possible. He not only has many outside masters; to a varying degree he is himself one of the masters, required to make his own value choices. In some areas, where his legal duties are explicit or his hierarchial supervisors alert, his range

of choice is constricted, but in other areas, his own concept of the public interest may have wide range.

If this description of the role of the administrator, which has been getting support from many directions in recent years, has validity, there are many implications for the study of public administration, and for the scope of activities appropriate to a professional society of administrators. The gap between public administration on the one hand and political science, economics, sociology, and philosophy on the other is narrowed, as is the gap between civil servant and partisan politician.

Fascinating though these speculations may be, they should not cause us to lose the gains we have made while grasping for others. While they may be seen in new light, there are still ratios between input and output, and some ways of doing business are cheaper and

more effective than others. Machines can keep some records better than men, and the saving can be measured in man-hours and dollars. A central car pool may provide more transport for less money than a car in each agency. One of the most pervasive of the forces and values with which administrators must be concerned is a relatively objective search for efficiency. It must be weighed in the balance along with other forces and values when administrative decisions are made.

Recognition of the broadening concerns of public administrators may shake some of the security and self-confidence of practitioners and students, but (as experienced and sensitive public officers and employees have long known) it makes practice and study more intriguing as well as more complex.

YORK WILLBERN

Public Administration Review is intended to promote the exchange of ideas among public officials and students of administration. The various views of public policy and public administration expressed herein are the private opinions of the authors; they do not necessarily reflect the official views of the agencies for which they work or the opinions of the editors of this journal.

in this number

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Federal-State Relations

By G. MENNEN WILLIAMS

Governor, State of Michigan

IT WAS suggested that I address myself today to the subject of "federal-state relations."

I am most eager to do this—not just as a Governor who, after almost nine years in office and at least five years of federal experience exclusive of military service, should have some ideas on the subject—but also as a politician who recognizes that states' rights is not only a subject but also something of a cult with a litany all of its own.

Let me hasten to say, I shall not endeavor to lecture on the law or the political science aspects of our subject. As a matter of fact, I'd just as soon try to teach that other Williams how to hit a baseball or a certain popular figure how to hit a golf ball as to give a lecture to such professionals as you ladies and gentlemen.

The Condition of State Government

WHAT I should like to take up this noon is the condition in which we find the federal-state system as we move into the second half of the twentieth century and how that system is preparing itself to meet the rising challenges of the near future. It is pretty apparent that the federal government, faced with the unprecedented challenge of guiding the world to peace and the country to prosperity, finds itself all tied up with a multiplicity of local activities as well. The states, faced with the explosive and exploding problem of metropolitan living, have failed to come to grips

with this and many another problem, with the result that their citizens have looked more and more to Washington. Why this is, and whether and how our federal-state system can adapt itself to serve this and succeeding generations, is what I'd like to explore with you this afternoon.

The relative lack of interest shown by the American people toward state and local governments will complicate our efforts to revise the federal-state system. As Professor V. O. Key stated it, they "are not boiling with concern about the working of their state government." Because of the depression, the World War, and the cold war, there are understandable reasons for this apathy. But a strengthening in public interest and respect for state and local government is essential to continued progress in the United States.

It is my belief that in an age of Madison Avenue and machine-made uniformity we need to strengthen every bit of creative diversity we possess. Our many great cities and our forty-eight, hopefully fifty, great and differing states, can provide a rich variety of thought and action no single-centered nation can hope to attain.

It is true, as any candid observer must agree, that our pattern of state and local government may fail to meet the challenge of creative action and relapse into futile frustration and eventual national centralization. Certainly such a gloomy view was prevalent and seemed justified in the dark days of the thirties when bankruptcy faced every level of government below the nation and it alone possessed the fiscal strength to shoulder the burden of relief

NOTE: This article was a luncheon address at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 5, 1957.

and combat the giant evils of unemployment and economic stagnation. Happily that storm was weathered and a series of measures we know as the New Deal and Fair Deal built stabilizers into the American economy and put a ceiling on human misery.

Many thought the states obsolete, a kind of vestigial remnant of our national evolution, impotent to help but powerful to hinder the national effort to solve our pressing problems. Certainly in that period mayors learned to beat a path to Washington without even a stop over in their state's capitol. Cities on the front line of the battle against human misery found sympathetic ears and hard cash in Washington when state governments seemed bleakly negative.

Some of this situation stemmed from superior resources at the disposal of the national treasury but all too much from a built-in lack of sympathy with urban problems in state legislatures. The well worn trail to Washington will become a four lane superhighway if urban areas now containing the great majority of our people are given the cold shoulder or asked to come hat in hand to beg for scraps from rural-oriented state governments still unaware of, or hostile to, their needs.

But all too unnoticed, there has been more recently, in the decade following the war, a revitalization of state government. While most public attention has been directed to events in Washington, many state capitols have been the scene of ferment and surprising accomplishment. Almost everyone in Michigan, regardless of party, would agree, I believe, that there has been ferment in Lansing during the last nine years; and many would agree there has also been accomplishment.

As a Governor, I have found the powers of the state impressive and their opportunities for service challenging in the highest degree. Public service in the states and in local government need be no trivial thing; rather it can command to the full creative and moral imagination. I can bring you good report of this. In the past few years, Neil Staebler, the state chairman of the Democratic party in Michigan, and his associates have enlisted recruits to man the party organization and contest elections throughout the counties of the state. This is no mercenary army or band of sun-

shine patriots, but the firm foundation of an enduring institution of responsible government, a party bound together by program of social justice and enlightenment, and the immeasurable satisfaction of vital participation in self-government.

State political parties can be built and they can quicken civic energies now dormant. The states can regain stature as significant political communities through a rebirth of responsible parties. And thousands who now know democracy only as the threadbare slogans of textbook or preachment will know the manly satisfaction of pulling their weight at the civic oar rather than sitting idly by as supercargo or dead weight.

The reason for the present condition of state government is well summed up in Adlai Stevenson's phrase: "States' rights would not be an issue if there were not so many states' wrongs."

The sad truth of the matter is not that the federal government has forcibly divested the states of functions that they were manfully performing but rather that it has had to do those things for the citizens of the states that their state governments were refusing or neglecting to do.

There has never been any need for the federal government to act in the field of workmen's compensation because the states have moved, granted in varying degree, to provide economic security to those who become injured or sick as a result of their jobs. But because there was little state action to provide security for those laid off their jobs through no fault of their own, the federal government had to establish a program of unemployment compensation. Even then, the states were left a great deal of discretion in their individual programs and, of course, they administer their own programs.

Citizen Interest

IT SAYS in the books and the orators profess, with some truth I suspect, that people like their chores done by the government closest to them. But I strongly suspect that a good many citizens are more interested in *getting* their chores *done* than in *what* government does them. In other words, it may turn out that the government closest to the people is not so

much the government that is closest geographically but the government that is closest sympathetically.

It is quite probable that I am not the only Governor in America who has been awakened by some anxious citizen who has a problem. The range of such problems is unbelievable. They are just as likely to involve the entry of a sweetheart from Central Europe into the United States, which, of course, involves the federal government, as they are some state problem. Then I, not infrequently, hear complaints about the level of assessment of property taxes. This in Michigan is ordinarily as local a function as can be. Of course, I have my share of calls to get irate citizens out of jail who have offended some local ordinance in the presence of the local constabulary. Such citizens are not concerned with any separation of local and state functions or executive and judicial powers. They merely want out—and right now.

The President, our senators, and congressmen get their share of misdirected requests as my office well knows from politely worded referrals to us from those offices.

How often local government officials get calls for state services I really don't know—except that all of them in Michigan admit to getting requests for race track passes—which dubious service used to be a state monopoly in Michigan until the tracks decided to do away with general passes.

Obviously I have dealt with unsophisticated examples, but they are too frequent to be deemed uncommon.

What's more, I am sure that each of you can recall some instance where a citizen or group of citizens who wanted something done started with their local government. If their local government failed them they as likely as not went to their state government. If relief was not forthcoming from the state, they went on to Washington. Then the next time they wanted something, they just didn't bother with their state or local government; they went where they got service the last time.

In all of this, there is no abstract question of governmental theory or philosophy. There is only the concrete question of getting something done.

Labor legislation is a case in point. The labor unions are quite apt to be strong for federal legislation whereas the National Association of Manufacturers is often quite insistent that a matter be left to the judgment of the several states. While there may be some important political theory mentioned, I strongly suspect that labor found that the Wagner Act was more effective than the sum total of state legislation. The NAM on its side found that a number of state legislatures could be induced to pass "right to wreck" or "right to work" laws, as you prefer to call them, and that there were a much greater number which could be counted on to maintain the status quo.

States' Rights and Responsibilities

As I said before, I am mightily impressed by the powers of the states, when properly used. I have profound belief in states' rights and responsibilities. I believe that state administration of enlightened programs can be the most efficient way of meeting our society's problems. This is particularly true when contrasted with national centralism.

States' rights or decentralized governmental responsibility and authority is also a strong guarantee of democracy against autocracy or totalitarianism, as all of us here today know well. I don't mean here to say that the existence of states' rights guarantees successful government. The history of our independent colonies and our Articles of Confederation shows this is not necessarily true. What I do mean to point out here is that decentralized authority and responsibility keeps democracy alive locally and kills off inexpedient dictators.

History is full of examples to prove this point. But I would like to speak only out of my own experience. South America is an area where people continue to struggle for democracy against many odds. One reason, I suspect, why Peron was so successful in seizing national power in Argentina is that the states are almost federal subdivisions. The chief executives of these subdivisions are all appointed by the federal authority and such power as is constitutionally granted to the states is mostly paper power. Therefore the practice of self-government is much more limited. I recognize that France maintains a democracy with a

high degree of centralization. I do not say centralization and democracy together are impossible. I do, however, say the decentralization and the local exercise of political power does in my mind strengthen the probabilities of democracy. It produces self-reliance and develops the ability and know-how of democracy.

States' rights has become a cult, with a sometimes strange and incomprehensible litanany. All of us have watched the politicians who would die for states' rights but then dazzle you with footwork to get at the head of the line for federal handouts.

Public attention has been focused on states' rights as a result of the President's address to the Governor's Conference at Williamsburg. He called upon the Governors to assist him in determining which federal programs could be turned back to the states. A Joint Federal-State Action Committee has been appointed by the President and the Governors to study his suggestions and propose what action is needed.

Some of us were a bit skeptical of the President's proposal in view of his actions on the highway question. The Governor's Conference had gone on record favoring a return to the states of all federal highway functions, and the taxes collected by the federal government for highway purposes. The President's answer was to send Mr. Nixon to the Governor's Conference and ask support for the Clay Program, calling for a vast expansion of federal highway activity.

All of us share the President's desire that those functions which can be done by the states are promptly turned back to them. I hope that he shares the liberals' concern that people come before theory.

One of my colleagues, Pennsylvania's dynamic Governor George M. Leader, had some excellent advice to offer the Joint Federal-State Committee, as it met for the first time in Hershey. He urged the committee to conduct its discussions "primarily in the broad terms of people, problems, and programs, rather than in the narrow terms of resolving jurisdictional disputes between rival governmental bodies."

This is precisely the one view which can lead to a measurable improvement of our fed-

eral-state system. A mad rush by political leaders to divest the federal government of power purely for the sake of divestment can create a vacuum in which progress will halt. It will not be enough to determine that the states are theoretically capable of performing certain duties now done by the federal government. There will have to be a firm guarantee that the states *will* perform these tasks, so that the problems of the people will not go unsolved.

Above all, the determination of which functions can be best performed by which level of government should not be approached as an exercise in organization. Flow charts and tables of organization may give the appearance of modern, streamlined government, but the people for whom that government exists may also be getting good old-fashioned short shrift from it.

One of the first problems which must be solved if we expect the states to assume their legitimate roles is adequate financing. The federal government long ago, for all practical purposes, took over the major share of the nation's tax resources when it moved into the personal and corporate income field. I do not believe that the many scattered taxes on which states must rely can provide a solid basis for concerted state action.

It would be my suggestion that we look into the possibility of giving a federal income tax credit, not just a deduction from taxable income, to those paying personal and corporate income taxes to the state for specific purposes, probably starting with education. Of course, this would have to be limited to a maximum percentage of credit, and should be so framed as not to encourage the states to tax for the sake of taxing but only for worth-while objectives.

It may be that federal law could be revised to allow an individual or corporation a credit of 85 per cent of a maximum 6 per cent tax on his next income. I offer these figures as one possibility, not as my program. I would hope that the Joint Federal-State Committee would give its attention to such a proposal that would provide a tax base on which the states could work.

The challenge then to the federal government is to move out of fields which can be occupied by the states. The challenge to the

states is to move vigorously to accept these new responsibilities. I should like to take up for a moment what I believe to be the greatest problem facing the states.

The Urban Problem

AT THE beginning I stated that the greatest test of our federal-state system may come as the urban revolution and its effects are felt. I suggest that we must thoroughly review that system to insure that it provides a workable vehicle for the future.

Most of our attachment to the federal system is the result of an almost innate American passion for what we colloquially term the "grass roots" kind of government. This, in turn, resulted in the formal progression of government from the local to the state to the federal. Those services closest to the everyday life of the people—garbage disposal, water and sewage facilities, public transportation—were left to the local government. The state, of course, built the roads, locked up the major criminals, whisked the mentally ill out of the local community, and even, on occasion, regulated business or labor. Washington fought the wars, delivered the mail, and, during the nineteenth century, did its best to counteract those few radical states which *tried* to regulate business or labor.

Certainly this picture was under constant transformation. The trend toward increased activity at the federal level only mirrored the rapid technological advances which shrunk the nation's physical confines and vastly increased the difficulty of solving many problems at any level beneath the national.

Yet this federalism of ours has not been sufficiently transformed to mirror the unbelievable shift from rural to urban residence by Americans during the last fifty years. We have come in that time from a nation which was 39 per cent urban to one which is now 64 per cent urban. We can, furthermore, look forward to increasing that percentage to over 80 per cent urban within the next twenty-five years.

We now find that 96 million people, or more than 56 per cent of our total population, live in 174 metropolitan areas. We know also that this number will increase by more than

half to 150 million people by 1975. But the most challenging fact of this tremendous concentration of people within small geographic areas is that, in addition to the state and federal governments, the public affairs of our metropolitan citizens are in the hands of more than 16,000 units of local government.

Day after day, from almost all of these metropolitan areas, a constant tale of difficulty emerges. Those governmental activities closest to the people's lives have become the hardest of all to perform. How to get water in, and sewage out, of a metropolitan area whose people are governed by a central city and hundreds of suburban units becomes a problem equal to the logistical problems of a major war.

You who work in the field know as well as I the problems which accompany the actual details of solution. Fear of losing local autonomy or fear of higher taxes can be barriers just as difficult to overcome as the physical problems of finding water and transporting it.

You who work in the field know the controversial nature of the various plans offered to achieve cooperation. Consolidation and annexation proposals seem to generate tremendous heat. So also do the plans for federal control through financial assistance. The use of *ad hoc* devices such as special districts and authorities has been notably successful in some instances, but many believe that their continued growth would lead to complete scateration of function. Finally, and of most accepted currency, there is the idea of a federated city, wherein some of the sovereignty of the local units is given over to a superbody directed to control particular functions by processes arrived at by majority consent of the local units.

The debate as to the efficacy of each of these proposals will continue. The solution or solutions of the problems involved, will, no matter what system of government is created, have a profound effect on federalism. Our traditional values and theories will have to give way to accommodate the new structure which will evolve from deliberations.

For instance, I believe with Luther Gulick that the states have the paramount responsibility for providing the framework of local

government. It is a responsibility which the states will shirk at their peril, if they value at all the role which they play within the federal system. If they do not act to provide the means whereby the local units can best meet their needs, they will be by-passed, as they have in the past. Irrate urban citizenries will create their own solutions, without or in spite of state action. The loser in such event can only be the states.

Within this room there are many whose special training and research offer abilities which must be utilized if we are to adapt our federal system to what Adlai Stevenson so aptly termed the "New America." Our specialists in state and local government must be called upon, eagerly and often.

The Art of Politics

BUT after the experts have determined the solutions, the real task will have just begun. It is then that the art of politics will be tested to its fullest. None of the solutions will be worth a jot if they are not accepted by the people. No prefashioned, theoretical framework can be forced upon an unwilling public. The difficult job of achieving this public acceptance will be left to the political parties and their leaders. As throughout the history of democracy, final success rests in the wisdom and energy of the men and women who have chosen the public life.

As Jefferson said of the ward republics and as Pericles said in an earlier society, democracy is a way of life that has to be lived, and lived actively, not just by the few but by the many. It is a quality of human life not to be measured in its success merely by the economy and efficiency of government, but by what it does to lift and ennoble the human spirit. The true role of the states and local governments is not the decentralization of power to achieve some eighteenth century clockmaker's dream of po-

litical equipoise, or even the higher goal of defeating the dangers of tyranny. Rather, their role is to provide as many of us as possible with the moral opportunity to be citizens, to participate in significant political decisions, to be lifted out of the pettiness of merely private cares to the ennoblement of shared civic life. Governments are no mere utilitarian enterprises. When they become such, they lose their holds on the souls of men.

It is for this reason that we must approach the task that confronts us in the re-fashioning of our federal system. This is no mere problem of transportation, comfort, convenience, economics, or foreign policy. It means building a governmental structure in which men may not merely live, but live well.

Jefferson feared the multitudes piled one on top of the other in great cities. Fortunately, he erred in his time. We, too, have cause to fear a faceless mass, a mere human heap, however well administered, that cannot govern itself, cares not to govern itself, passes this worksome task to authorities, commissions, or other devices of what Erich Fromm calls the "escape from freedom."

We are facing an era when our powers of production will permit human leisure which Greek philosophers thought the privilege of the few—and that only at the expense of slavery. To be worthy of this leisure, we must plan not merely for the recreation of parks and beaches, but the recreation of the human spirit to be found in a vigorous civic life. Our governments of the future can be either convenient human heaps for commerce and mass entertainment, or hopeful partnerships in all art, all culture, all that ennoble the spirit of man. This is no vain dream. A brilliant age of cities and states is within our grasp if we have the heart and will. This is the promise of American politics. I ask that you who know best this promise do all you can to insure its fulfillment.

The Impact of Mechanization on Administration

By PAUL T. VEILLETTE

Associate Management Analyst

Budget Division, Department of Finance and Control, State of Connecticut

ALTHOUGH practicing public administrators should be credited with a far greater interest in office mechanization than it is generally believed they have, this interest is not reflected in public administration literature. In contrast, the literature of private administration abounds with articles on mechanization, ranging from practical articles on office machines to highly abstract and theoretical papers on electronic data processing. The disparity between the two literatures reflects, to a degree, the divorce of the public administrator and the academician, under whose care public administration literature is nourished. To the extent that this condition exists, the interflow of ideas between the administrative "laboratories" and the "idea centers" is slowed, and the development of a science of administration thwarted.

This paper represents an attempt to place the relationship of mechanization to administration in a perspective that will be meaningful to both practitioner and academician. The problem will be approached from three standpoints: (a) the general evolution of data processing, (b) the direction of its future development in one of our state governments, and

(c) the impact of this development on organization and administration.

From Manual Methods to Electronic Data Processing Machines

PLATO advised to begin an attack on a problem by defining it. In the context of this paper, a logical beginning at definition is to review the functions basic to any data processing system, whether it be manual, electromechanical, electronic, or a combination of these. There are four broad data processing functions: classifying, computing, recording, and storing. By classifying is meant (1) the sorting or grouping of paper work for processing purposes into some type of order—for example, by sequence—or (2) the breakdown of stored data according to a system, such as an alphanumeric or phonetic filing system. Computing encompasses both calculating and summarizing. Recording, as used here, has a broad meaning; it includes reading, transcribing, and reproducing. Storing can be equated with file maintenance (interfiling and looking-up).

Admittedly, these definitions of the data processing functions are somewhat oversimplified and arbitrary, but they will do for present purposes.

Some insight into the progress made in paper work management over the years is gained by relating these functions to the various stages in the development of data processing.

NOTE: This paper is adapted from talks at the University of Connecticut before meetings of the Connecticut Chapter of the American Society for Public Administration and the Connecticut Society of Governmental Accountants.

These stages represent advances in office management as startling in their way as those found in modern industry.

Manual Stage. In this stage the data processing functions are usually separate. Thus, from a management improvement standpoint, attempts to increase the efficiency of operations that will remain manual concentrate on work simplification, utilizing the usual techniques of management analysis—process charts, work counts, and work distribution studies among others. Attempts are made to simplify recording, to simplify computing, to simplify file maintenance—in other words, to find the “one best way” to perform each function.

Mechanical Stage. This stage introduces the combination of two or more functions within, basically, a single operation. To illustrate, the adding machine both computes (summarizes) and records; the bookkeeping machine also computes (calculates, summarizes) and records.

Punched Card Stage. Intercommunication among machines, through the medium of punched cards, is the distinguishing feature of the punched card stage. The “native language” through which punched card machines communicate consists of patterns of holes in punched cards, which can only be understood, or “read,” by similar machines. A given set of punched cards can activate a machine that will compute and record, another that will classify (sort), and still another that will interfile the punched cards into a file of similar cards.

To public administrators, it is of interest that the originator of the first punched card machines used in the United States was an employee of the United States Census Bureau named Hollerith. In 1897, Hollerith devised a punched card adding unit to process census statistics. The event did not mark the earliest use of punched card equipment, however; in the early nineteenth century the Jacquard loom, also activated by punched cards, had been developed in France.

Punched Paper Tape Stage. This stage introduced intercommunication among machines that were formerly unable to communicate with one another. Prior to this development raw data from a typewriter, for example, could not be transferred directly to punched card equipment. The human factor had to be interjected into the process, i.e., a key-punch

operator was needed to create punched cards from the data produced on the typewriter. The operator served, in effect, as an interpreter, since typewriters and punched card equipment have different native languages.

The development of punched paper tape marked the beginning of a common machine language. In 1870, Jean Baudot, a public servant of the French Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs, perfected a punched tape containing a series of holes in vertical columns. Each column contained up to five holes. The tape served as the common language for various models of printing telegraph machines, being emitted by some and read by others. As the office equipment industry advanced, the five-hole, or five-channel, tape became the common language link among a wide variety of office machines. Typewriters, calculators, bookkeeping machines, and graphotypes, as well as punched card equipment, were now able to be functionally integrated into a single data processing system. For this reason, the common language concept of paper work management is often referred to as integrated data processing (IDP).

Electronic Stage. Electronic data processing machines (EDPM) are the latest development in paper work control, bringing intercommunication among data processing functions in a single machine at fantastically high speeds. Through such internal intercommunication, sorting, computing, and recording are integrated without human intervention once the machine has been programmed.¹ A brief description of the electronic computer should serve to illustrate the point.

The computer has five component parts: input or reading, storage or memory, logic or arithmetic, control, and output or writing. The input media include punched cards, punched paper tape, and magnetic tape. The memory unit—which stores information until it is ready for use—consists of a magnetic core, a magnetic drum, or a magnetic tape, among other possibilities. Capable of intercommunication with the memory, the arithmetic unit adds, subtracts, multiplies, divides, and com-

¹ Strictly speaking, the word “automation” should be applied only to electronic data processing machines, since they are the only office machines which are self regulating.

pares. Instructions for the arithmetic unit come from the control unit, which is also capable of intercommunicating with the memory where the instructions are stored. Output media are usually forms or reports, but can consist of punched cards, punched paper tape, or magnetic tape.

Data Processing in Connecticut State Government

STATE and local governments in Connecticut are in the punched card stage of data processing, with eighteen punched card installations in the state government alone. There are no installations utilizing punched tape. The sole electronic computer in the state service is being used in the Highway Department for engineering and payroll calculations.

It seems, from superficial observation, that economical uses for computers as now designed are relatively few within the Connecticut state government. Part of the justification for this statement lies in the decentralized nature of the state service. To justify a computer the following factors should ordinarily be present: extensive computations and a large volume of work (implying organizational centralization), ability to schedule operations so as to avoid conflicting and pressing demands for computer use, sufficiently consistent and repetitious work, clearly demonstrated need for rapid processing, and provable savings. Few state agencies meet these requirements, particularly in view of the high cost of computers. If the state government of Connecticut ever attains the degree of centralization recommended in 1937 by Governor Cross and in 1950 by Governor Bowles, economical applications for computers would probably increase. But there are no signs that the integrated organizational structures they recommended will become a reality in the near future.

The use of common language machines seems to be a fruitful area for exploration. Their applicability to small and medium-sized organizations and the acute clerical shortage in Connecticut are powerful factors favoring their use. Certainly the possibilities inherent in such equipment for the elimination

of work duplication are potent arguments in its favor.

An example of a possible application for common language machines in a medium-sized state agency, the Connecticut Department of Motor Vehicles, with approximately 650 employees, should point up the potentialities of integrated data processing. But before presenting the example, a brief review of the operational phases of punched card systems is given to put into perspective the value of punched tape to such systems—systems with which punched tape is commonly associated. Fundamentally, the same phases are found in non-punched-card mechanical systems, although the operations occurring within phases vary.

Input Phase. During this phase, the punched cards that will activate the various machines are produced on key punches. This operation is essentially manual, although some techniques, such as mark-sensing (electronically-read pencil marks), can be used under limited conditions to mechanize it partially.

Data Processing Phase. This is the phase bringing the greatest savings in time and manpower, for during it the data captured in punched cards in the input phase are processed and reprocessed in a variety of manners, at machine speeds. It is no longer necessary, as it is under a manual system, to recreate laboriously many of the same data each time these data are used in a different form.

Output Phase. Reports and other documents are printed on tabulators during this phase. In addition, punched cards may be reproduced or altered on auxiliary equipment, such as interpreters and reproducers.

In discussing the value of punched tape to a punched card operation the primary concern is with the input phase, for, being manual, it is the most time consuming of the three phases. Anything that can be done to mechanize or automate the input phase results in a net gain in time and personnel. The example from the Motor Vehicles Department will serve as an illustration.²

²At the request of the Commissioner of Motor Vehicles, a management team from the State Budget Division has been exploring possible areas of management improvement. The example points up one of

At the present time, the Department of Motor Vehicles produces operators' licenses on punched card equipment and automobile registrations on addressograph equipment. In both processes the input phase is manual (i.e., an operator's original license is produced on a key punch in punched card form; the addressograph plate used to create his registration certificate is embossed on a manual graphotype). The example relates to automobile registrations.

Registration certificates are issued from the department's main office in Hartford and from its eleven branch offices throughout the state. A person registering his automobile in a branch office completes an application and gives it to a motor vehicle clerk, who then prepares his registration certificate on a typewriter. A copy of the certificate is subsequently routed to the department's Addressograph Section in Hartford. There, through the use of a manual graphotype, the data on the certificate are transferred to an addressograph plate. The plate is later used to transfer these data mechanically to a registration renewal application and certificate, to be issued the following year.

Although this explanation of the process is oversimplified, it can be seen that the manual creation of the certificate (on a typewriter) by the clerk in the branch office is duplicated manually, in toto, by the graphotype operator in Hartford. There is a possibility that the duplication could be eliminated through the use of punched paper tape, as follows:

a. The applicant would complete the application in the same manner as at present.

b. The motor vehicle clerk would type the registration certificate manually on an electric typewriter that would automatically create as a by-product a punched paper tape. The tape would capture, in the form of punched holes, either all the data typed on the certificate or only selected information, depending upon requirements.

c. The tape, along with others, would sub-

these areas. However, no conclusions had been reached at the time of writing as to whether the system discussed here or another system will be recommended. There are several tangential aspects of the problem which in themselves might prohibit the use of common language equipment, although it is not likely.

sequently be sent to Hartford and fed into automatic graphotypes to create mechanically addressograph plates for registration renewals, thus eliminating the manual duplication of work by a graphotype operator.

Among the results would be (1) fewer graphotypes (an automatic graphotype is considerably faster than a manual graphotype and is subject to fewer interruptions) and (2) fewer graphotype operators (with manual graphotypes an operator is needed for each machine and additional operators are needed to compensate for absenteeism and vacations; it has been estimated that a single employee can supervise five or six automatic graphotypes).

There are additional advantages—such as savings in office space, lower unit costs, simplified personnel administration, and stabilized work flow during rush periods.

If automobile registrations in Connecticut were on punched cards, as they are in New Jersey, essentially the same system could probably be used. One difference: instead of feeding tapes into automatic graphotypes, thereby creating plates that would then be used to produce renewal certificates, the tapes would be fed into tape-to-card converters, producing certificates directly in the form of punched cards.³ In either case, the data would be captured in tape at the point of origin and would henceforth be self-perpetuating.

A possible extension of the system lies in accounting, since the tapes could probably be used to activate common language bookkeeping machines, thereby "automating" part of the bookkeeping process. Before any such change could be made it would have to be examined thoroughly by accounting experts. Other uses for the tapes could be found in the statistical field.⁴

³The punched card system used in New Jersey's Division of Motor Vehicles is the chief alternative to graphotypes being examined by the survey team studying the Connecticut Motor Vehicles Department, although electronic computers are also being considered. Illinois, California, Michigan, and New Jersey are converting, or considering converting, to computers.

⁴A word of caution is in order. Even if the use of punched tapes proves feasible to achieve efficiency and effectiveness, it would still have to stand the test of economy. Although it is often prudent to spend money on equipment for long-run savings in operating costs, this is not always the case.

Mechanization, Organization, and Administration

IN TERMS of traditional administrative theory, departments are organized by purpose, process, clientele, and/or region.⁵ A familiar organization pattern found within Connecticut state departments consists of four or five line divisions, each organized by purpose, and a central staff division organized by process (budgeting, personnel, purchasing). In addition, a department might be organized by region, with a half-dozen or more branch offices each containing personnel from several of the line divisions. Unlike the line divisions, the activities of the process division are not self-contained and limited to vertical movement in the hierarchy; instead, they cut across organizational lines and intimately affect the operations of every division in the department. In other words, the process division is organized horizontally.

The introduction of punched card equipment into a department is not uncommonly accompanied by the establishment of a central machine unit, bringing with it significant organizational changes. The unit may be located within the central staff division and serve several line divisions. Upon its establishment, changes in personnel, procedures, staffing, equipment, forms, layout, and the level of employee skills are obviously to be expected. But important as these are there are other, less tangible, changes frequently overlooked that are significant: changes in the loci of authority, procedural coordination, and conflict settlement, and in the need for administrative planning.

Reduction in Line Authority. It is axiomatic that installations of similar machines

should be consolidated; otherwise, maximum and effective use of machines cannot, ordinarily, be realized, and optimum utilization of technical skills will be lost. Yet consolidation makes horizontal organization mandatory, thereby reducing the "scope of control" of the line division chief.⁶ His budget and staffing pattern are already determined by "outsiders" in the department's staff division and in the state's central staff departments; his personnel are recruited and classified by outsiders; his equipment is largely chosen by outsiders. Now, with the arrival of the central machine unit, vital paper work is to be processed by outsiders. The implications of all this for administrative responsibility are clear, but the irresistible demands of specialization take precedence.

Informal Authority of Machine Unit. Because machine units are complex and technical, authority is imparted to the judgment of the technicians directing them, the authority of knowledge⁷—an authority derived from knowledge exclusively possessed and enhanced by the current high status of "automation." As a consequence, the locus of certain types of decision-making tends to be transferred from line administrators to the central machine unit. Typical cases are those in which the rigidities of the machines and the requirements for their effective use virtually dictate certain procedures and policies, inside and outside of the machine unit. Thus, the inseparability of procedure and policy places the machine unit supervisor in a position of informal authority beyond that formally possessed by him as a technical advisor on machine procedures. If and when the line administrators gain an understanding of the machine unit's operations, its importance as a locus of informal authority and decision-making declines, and formally recognized relationships are restored.

Regardless of the ebb and flow of authority, the machine unit can be expected to retain a

⁵ In discussing the impact of mechanization, an effort is made, where pertinent, to blend selectively the approaches to organization theory associated with Luther Gulick and Lyndall Urwick, on the one hand, and with Chester Barnard and Herbert Simon, on the other, and to modify the resultant not only (1) to reflect the particular organization problems linked with mechanization, but also (2) to conform to the experiences of Connecticut's management survey team. The reader should bear in mind that the discussion relates directly to medium-sized agencies in a relatively small state government; some of the conclusions presented cannot be applied to other jurisdictions without modification.

⁶ "Scope of control," as here used, refers to the extent of an administrator's formal authority to determine basic management decisions affecting his operations.

⁷ Authority of knowledge: roughly synonymous with Barnard's authority of leadership. In the context of this article, the writer prefers the word "knowledge," since it is more descriptive of the position under discussion.

central role in departmental activity. Within its walls work from the various divisions and sections⁸ is processed and coordinated. Inadequate production scheduling and generally loose administration within the unit could result in departmentwide delays and conflict. The unit, therefore, requires supervision by a high caliber administrator-technician, a person possessing not only technical know-how but also administrative know-how, natural and learned. In addition, he must be willing and able to educate top and middle management regarding his unit's operations, for their acceptance of mechanization and their willingness to extend it to new areas of administration can only be born of understanding.⁹

Loci of Procedural Coordination. The level of procedural coordination is determined, in part, by organization structure, as is the level of conflict settlement. For example, let us assume that prior to the establishment of a given machine unit procedural activity had been decentralized, with each section within the line division being, for all practical purposes, the sole section performing certain functions. With this arrangement, conflict settlement and coordination tend to be effectuated at low organizational levels.

The picture changes after machine consolidation. Because personnel of two separate divisions are involved, conflicts between the central machine unit and the line sections are forced upward to the higher levels of management for resolution, if agreement cannot be reached informally. Coordinative activity also tends to move upward, in recognition of hierarchical relationships. The joint effect is to cut into the time upper management devotes to policy development and planning. In this respect, the effects of a central machine unit differ from those of its sister process organization, the budget office. The machine unit is concerned with procedural coordination. The

budget office, according to the canons of administrative theory, promotes policy coordination, and its activities, consequently, are regarded as falling within the proper functions of upper management.

Integrated data processing (which includes electronic data processing) threatens to revise the traditional view of procedural administration vis-à-vis upper management, because of the integrative and coordinative nature of its media, the departmentwide breadth of its activity, and the effects of centralization and organization by process. When its full impact is understood, the old principle that a dichotomy between policy and administration is possible becomes even more tenuous and less tenable as an acceptable statement of truth than it has been in the past.

Need for Administrative Planning. To the writer, the various aspects of organization, authority, and procedural coordination discussed above, as well as the more tangible effects of mechanization, point up the need for effective pre-mechanization planning, both for the system and for the smooth transition of organization and administration. Electro-mechanical and electronic systems require time-consuming and painstaking planning, involving determinations on equipment, programming, work flow, performance rates (both for employees and machines), and production control, among others. Thorough work during this period minimizes problems encountered later during conversion to a new system.

The demands of mechanization planning will undoubtedly lead to increased emphasis on O & M research and to the development of advanced techniques of management analysis. More than ever, line administrators will be unable to spare the time necessary for procedural planning and, in many respects, will not possess the know-how. They will be faced with two alternatives: (1) to develop first-rate O & M staffs, or (2) to rely on equipment manufacturers for some of their systems work. The first alternative, recommended by equipment manufacturers themselves, should prevail, since it ensures impartiality and allows concurrent performance of related O & M tasks.

A thorough premechanization survey often reveals possibilities for improving procedures completely apart from the question of mech-

⁸"Section" is here defined as the organizational component next below a division.

⁹The implications of these statements for the merit system principle and for personnel administration are clear. If a lesson is needed, the unfortunate experience of a western state which is currently trying to operate an advanced electro-mechanical system in a spoils-ridden motor vehicles department should be enough to renew faith in the practical arguments underlying the merit principle.

anization, and a departmental O & M staff is best suited to follow up such possibilities effectively. Further, it is relatively easy for an O & M analyst to learn what he needs to know about a company's machines, while it is more difficult for a company representative to learn a department's policies, to determine its systems requirements, to design and test a system, and to assist in its installation. Then, too, the analyst is available to study the broader relationships of mechanization to administration and to rec-

ommend a course of action suited to the peculiar needs of the department.¹⁰ Since "technical change postulates social and organizational change,"¹¹ a broad look is the only kind that makes sense.

¹⁰ Centralization of machines, for example, may, on balance, be desirable in one department and not in another.

¹¹ Lyndall Urwick, "Experiences in Public Administration," 15 *Public Administration Review* 250 (Autumn, 1955).

Policy Determination

One of the most useful tools in policy determination today is the development of written policies. First of all, written statements promote more careful consideration of what we intend to say. Secondly, the process of reducing policies to writing helps get the benefit of the thinking of others when more than one person is involved in policy determination. Also, the written policy permits transmittal of this kind of information to those who are expected to take action much more effectively and uniformly than word of mouth. Finally, the written statement facilitates policy modification or change. Policy determination is, after all, a continuous process. As conditions change, many policies should be revised to meet these changed circumstances. There are few policies which are absolutely impervious to change. In this connection, the written policy facilitates intelligent change because disagreement over what the existing policy actually intends to convey is minimized. All policies should be subject to periodic review and, when this is based on a clear understanding of the present policy, consideration of possible changes to meet changed circumstances can be discussed and resolved in an orderly fashion.

Formal policy determination is a tool which has served to stimulate thinking and sharpen perception of basic management problems. It has made effective delegation possible and improved coordination both up and down, as well as across the organization.

—H. E. Lunken, "Policy Determination," 22 *Advanced Management* 6 (September, 1957).

Research in Public Administration: A Further Note

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IN HIS provocative article on "Research in Public Administration," in the Summer, 1956, issue of this *Review*, Frederick C. Mosher asked, "Is there a 'field' of public administration, or, in the academician's glossary, is there such a 'discipline'? If so what is its scope, its rubric, its method?" He then added, "I am not sure that either question can be answered." And, after acknowledging the relationship of public administration to political science and the other social sciences, he said, "... it would appear that any definition of this field would be either so encompassing as to call forth the wrath or ridicule of others, or so limiting as to stultify its own disciples. Perhaps it is best that it not be defined."

One may ask of Mosher's statement, how can there be research in a field that is undefined? How can theoretical and practical problems be identified, hypotheses formulated, and research techniques applied, if we have been unable to demarcate our area of interest? In short, without such definition how can programs of research be planned and undertaken?

The problem of definition also presented itself in discussions on research in public administration at the 1957 annual conference of the American Society for Public Administration. Practitioners found themselves discussing their needs for research in terms of solving problems of day-to-day operations. How big should an organization and methods staff in a

governor's office be? How have state governments fared in introducing program-budgeting systems? What is a reasonable cost for the operation of a fire department of a medium-sized city? On the other hand, some persons with interests directed to teaching and academic research urged that there be "more basic research," which in concept seemed to range all the way from studies having rather practical and value-oriented objectives to those seeking knowledge for the sake of knowledge rather than for immediate utility.

It was evident in these discussions that a common pool of understanding was lacking with regard to (a) what public administration is and whether it is a separate field or discipline from the other social sciences, and (b) the nature of research that has meaning for public administration. Behind these questions lay others about which there may also be lacking a consensus, such as the character of the training that should be given persons who expect to work in the public service, and the research function of the professional society that serves those who work in, and provide training for, the public service. Answers to the first set of questions are helpful in thinking both about training in public administration and about the role of the professional society. It is the purpose of these comments to suggest answers to the two questions posed above and to offer some thoughts on the research function of the professional society.

The Nature of Public Administration

PUBLIC administration is nothing more nor less than the art of conducting the affairs of government. Broadly conceived in a tripartite system, it extends beyond the executive branch to include the legislative and judicial functions as well. It is not a science; let anyone who has ever made a governmental decision, or observed one being made, judge for himself. And yet public administration as an art draws upon the knowledge of science and strengthens the quality of its artistic performance through reference to and utilization of knowledge obtained through science, both social and natural. Public administration, as an artful pursuit, demands intelligence, an understanding of the culture and value systems within which it is carried out, and a sense of balance and judgment which derives from historical perspective, broadly based factual equipment, and personal integrity. The good practitioner is the civilized man.

Public administration is not a field or discipline in the traditional academic sense of those terms. True, we have schools of public administration and courses in public administration. But nowadays only the most unimaginative and parochial would suppose that a complex practical art can be encompassed in the subject matter of conventional public administration courses such as personnel administration, budgeting, organization and methods, purchasing, and the like. These are essentially trade school courses, useful for in-service training purposes, as after-hours subjects for the man on the job who wishes to improve his skills, and as demonstration courses, in regular academic programs, of certain aspects of the public administration process. That such subjects are no longer seen as the be-all and end-all of public administration is a measure of the progress made by those who practice and teach it. Only a few decades ago there was widespread interest in a "science of public administration" which led to a considerable amount of not very significant research on these subjects, and a stultifyingly narrow approach to the art as "science."

Even the names of most of the so-called "schools of public administration" indicate that training for the public service is their

function, rather than training in some limited aspects of the art. The curriculums of these schools increasingly are composed of courses in economics, psychology (social and individual), political theory, law, and subject-matter problems such as natural resources administration, urban government, international affairs, and so on.

If public administration is not a field or discipline in its own right, but rather a practical art, what is its relationship to the academic world? American universities are noted and notorious for offering degrees in almost every conceivable practical art from how to catch a fish to how to run a hotel. It is significant, however, that while fishing is better sport if the angler is "compleat," Western civilization is not in very great measure dependent on having its fishing done, or its hotels run, by civilized men. It is in far greater danger of suffering grievously if its public affairs are conducted by persons with trade school horizons. The kinds of programs offered to students planning to enter the public service seem to be acknowledging that substantially more than the conventional budgeting, personnel, and management courses are prerequisites to effective performance in the public service.

Does it call for specialization in political science? This is the recognized academic discipline, which while something of a nonsense term for the study of political affairs past, present, and future, has standing in the university world. As a practical art, public administration is to political science what the practice of medicine is to the discipline of biology. In neither case would it be presumed that an able practitioner could emerge as the result solely of exposure to the study of the underlying academic discipline. And in both cases, as knowledge from the natural and the social sciences begins to converge we find that the preparation of the well-trained practitioner draws more and more widely on learning from many of the sciences.

Relationship between Research and Public Administration

SINCE public administration is a practical art and not a scientific field or discipline, it is evident that in talking about research we need

to consider the kinds that will enhance the art. This is a different proposition from discussing research in the subject matter of a scientific discipline, as for example, physiology or nuclear physics. It may profitably be recalled that the artist draws on the resources available to him, both internal and external, for creative accomplishment. While he does not turn his back on science—in fact, to the contrary, seeks inspiration from the achievements of science—his objective is not to uncover knowledge but to produce a work of art. He does not work within the confines of a single discipline, but rather grapples with the large issues of the world around him. And so it is with the public administrator. Knowledge, which in part represents the fruits of research, helps the practitioner to reach a more satisfying (artistic) achievement; it helps the teacher of future public administrators better to prepare his students for meeting the complex issues of government.

Thus there are potentially no limits to the interests of public administrators in research—research of all kinds, in all fields and disciplines. Such a statement is in itself not very helpful, especially if one bears in mind that in the United States alone the volume of research conducted by government, universities, and industry has involved an annual outlay in recent years of better than \$5 billion.

The Need for Utilitarian Research

BUT if we look at the art in terms of practice and teaching some considerations which are useful in drawing lines around our research interest do emerge. First there is substantial demand for research of a utilitarian bent—a demand born largely of the needs of practitioners for facts, guidelines, and an understanding of how other practitioners have met specific operating problems. The research programs of bureaus of government research, of legislative reference services, and of many research units within government agencies are devoted to such practical, or applied, endeavors. Studies of this kind, on the personnel, budgetary, and organization-management fronts are familiar to most persons involved in public administration. They are recognized, particularly by practitioners, as having utility

in assisting in the making of decisions. But except in most unusual circumstances, the results of such research offer at best only limited contributory elements to the total complex of factors which result in governmental action.

We know far too little, at present, about the extent and nature of such research. There are no clearinghouses for the posting and exchange of information on practical research related to the management of government. (For the biological sciences such an exchange service does exist.) Practitioners complain that they become acquainted with studies going on outside of their own immediate jurisdictions only by chance. Teachers, students, and research workers are frequently unfamiliar with similar and related endeavors going on elsewhere. Since no really effective vehicles exist for the publication of briefs and abstracts about government research of a utilitarian character, such as are available to most other investigators especially in the natural sciences, there is also lacking among students, teachers, and practitioners of government the kind of informal "clearinghouse culture" which centers around the regular reading of research abstracts and briefs.

Given the unfortunate state of communication with regard to government research of a utilitarian nature, we are in no position to judge its worth, to appraise the extent to which it is needlessly duplicatory, or to identify gap areas which would benefit from further investigation. We are, in addition, not in a position to appraise the extent and adequacy of the resources being devoted to such research.

One current development in the public personnel area is of interest and significance in this connection. A group of leading academic and practitioner-oriented public administration people has been brought together with encouragement from the Carnegie Corporation and the Ford Foundation to consider the status of research on public personnel problems. A study of the organizational and financial resources that are actually or potentially available for public personnel research is now under way, as well as an inventory and evaluation of ongoing public personnel research. In addition, the study is seeking means of coor-

dinating such research and is identifying gap areas for future research.

This effort represents a significant attempt to bring rationality and order into one area of practical research of interest to public administrators. It is suggestive of the kind of approach which would be useful to apply to other utilitarian facets of the public administration art, as for example budgeting, procedures development, and purchasing.

Research on the Administrative Process

A SECOND area of research which is clearly of importance to those concerned in any capacity with public administration reveals the infinitely complex processes of government. The most noteworthy example of this kind of research is the work carried on by the Inter-University Case Program, looked on usually as grist primarily for the academician. But it can be persuasively argued that the practitioner could well benefit from reading the ICP's publications—both to refresh himself about the true nature of the world in which he works and to keep a healthy perspective on his own achievements and failures. The Inter-University Case Program is readily able to publish its approved manuscripts. It is also assured of a continuing program for several years through the generosity of the Ford Foundation.

Two additional types of research can serve to reveal the complex and artful nature of the administrative process. These are research leading to the biography of or novel about an outstanding public official (e.g., James McGregor Burns' *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox*, Frank Freidel's volumes on F.D.R. and Frank O'Connor's novel *The Last Hurrah*) and research into administrative history. As examples of the latter we have Leonard White's famous studies, and the official and unofficial histories of many government agencies, programs, and major enterprises.

Functionally Oriented Research

A THIRD area of research deals with problems of concern to government in their functional context. There is, of course, potentially an unlimited range of interest here. For example, research on the operation of the brain

and nervous system may ultimately have a profound effect on our capacity to deal with mental illness. And so the myriad public officials at all levels of government who are dealing with mental health problems from the custodial, therapeutic, preventive, and research points of view should be deeply concerned with such inquiries. As a practical matter, it is impossible for any government official with specialized functional interests to keep informed about, or to contribute to the stimulation of, more than a very limited amount of research in such major areas of functional specialization as public health, national defense, resources development and management, and the like.

One of the conditions of public administration is that it is not a profession, at least in the usual sense of the word, except for a handful of administrative specialists in limited aspects of the art like budgeting and personnel, or for an even smaller group of generalists who have no single major area of functional interest. Most people engaged in the public business identify themselves professionally with a specialty such as education, medicine, land management, business economics, or geological exploration. They tend, especially if alert to the need for keeping up on new developments, to follow the research literature and ideas in their chosen areas of specialization. In this they are aided by professional societies, by learned journals and professional publications, and by public and private agencies with broad functionally oriented research interests and responsibilities.

If functionally oriented research is by and large approached most effectively through the channels of professional specialization, there are still many problems which may profitably be singled out for particular attention by those concerned broadly with the practice and teaching of the art of administration. These are the problems, the issues, the experience which relate functional specialties to government operations. An illustration drawn from this *Review's* "Research Notes" may be apposite. In selecting materials for inclusion in the "Notes" from the extensive resources research program of Resources for the Future, a private research organization, those projects were reported on

which, in most cases, related to government operations rather than to technical aspects of resources development and management (e.g., Administration of Grazing in the Public Domain; Administration of Water Resources Activities in New York State). This sort of selectivity, while it runs the risk of excluding from the attention of public administrators with a functional concern for resource programs important technical studies on resources problems, does avoid duplicating the coverage which such studies are likely to receive in professional and technical journals. It also focuses attention on functional research related to government operations which might not otherwise be particularly noted.

The Significance of Fundamental Research

FINALLY, of special interest to the teacher of public administration, and to the speculative thinker and writer on governmental affairs, may be some research of a truly fundamental character where the objective is to produce knowledge for its own sake rather than for the purpose of immediately solving practical problems. In the social sciences there is relatively little such fundamental research, although one can find some illustrations of studies having great potential significance for public administration. For instance, certain social psychological investigations supported by the Office of Naval Research on social organization and disorganization (e.g., factors producing defensive behavior within groups; conditions affecting cooperation; human behavior in disaster; determination of effective leader behavior patterns) suggest that in such research lie keys to a fuller understanding of the individual as a social being and hence to an understanding of the nature and responsibilities of government.

One hazard exists in connection with the fundamental research interests of writers, teachers, or even practitioners of public administration. Since all are basically concerned with a practical art there is a natural drive to glean from fundamental inquiries the practical or utilitarian significance which may be suggested. And yet it is often the case that the "applied" implications of fundamental research are not self evident and in fact become

apparent only with the passage of time and extensive subsequent fundamental and applied research. A case in point is the impetus given to philosophical and metaphysical speculations regarding the supportability of free will which emanated from the enunciation, in the early 1930's, by the physicist, Heisenberg, of his "principle of indeterminacy." These were speculations probably largely unwarranted on the basis of available knowledge.

As in the case of functionally directed research, the range of inquiries of a fundamental character is so great as to call for selectivity on the part of those concerned with public administration. Such selectivity may, perhaps take place through directing interest principally toward inquiries which are concerned with the individual in society, studies in such fields as anthropology, social psychology, political science, and sociology.

Research and the Professional Society

ARE there collective measures to be taken by those concerned with public administration both to enhance their knowledge deriving from research and to stimulate research of significance to them? In the evident belief that there may be, the American Society for Public Administration has set up a committee for the purpose of examining the role which the Society should play with respect to research. If the foregoing comment on the nature of public administration is considered as a frame of reference, it would appear that what is needed is a kind of nerve center which can provide focus and stimulation with respect to the tremendously varied and wide-ranging research interests of those engaged both in the teaching and the practice of public administration. A Society which sits astride the full range of governmental activity can probably not afford to engage in research itself; the job of providing intellectual leadership and information on research is substantial enough.

To offer leadership in the several areas of research interest would undoubtedly call for a large and varied program. With regard to utilitarian research in such subjects as public personnel, budgeting, organization, purchasing, and planning, a prototype has been suggested in the action of the foundation-spon-

sored group which is examining research on public personnel problems. Because of the Society's interest, regular liaison is being maintained between those in the Society most concerned with research and the personnel research inquiry. Ultimately the Society may be able to review in this journal or in the *Public Administration News* any publications resulting from the study, or may carry a special article in the *Review* or *News* on the results of the study.

The *Review's* "Research Notes" may usefully be modified from time to time to carry solicited critical pieces on the status of research in a given area of research interest to persons in public administration (e.g., the status of public personnel research; the administrative history as a research resource; the emerging program of the Inter-University Case Program; the status of functionally oriented research programs in such areas as metropolitan governments, defense studies, resources management, and welfare administration; and the nature and status of research on problems of a fundamental character, such as social power structure, personality influences in career selection, creativity, productivity, and so forth). The writing of such articles would be a time-consuming business and might well warrant modest grants to afford their careful preparation.

In this connection it would appear that the Society might perform a mutually useful service to its membership and to private foundations which are eager to identify areas of research into which their funds may advantageously be put. For example, is an inquiry similar to the projected public personnel research study needed on public budgeting? If the answer is not apparent, the Society through its research committee might stimulate a preliminary inquiry to provide guidance on the subject and, assuming further work is indicated, might take leadership in seeking support for such work.

One source within the Society's own organization has already begun to be utilized for the purpose of developing a better picture of on-

going research of interest to public administration. The Washington, D. C. chapter of the Society has undertaken to identify federally supported and conducted research which is of relevance to public administration, and ASPA has publicized the results. While many problems of scope have been encountered along the way in this effort, it indicates one kind of cooperative venture on the research front into which other chapters might also be drawn with profit.

Liaison is needed between the Society (probably through the Society's research committee) and functionally oriented professional groups like the American Public Welfare Association, and academically oriented professional groups with interests in basic research in such fields as anthropology, social psychology, and sociology. If there is, as appears to be the case, little understanding of the nature and interests of the American Society for Public Administration on the part of a number of the professional societies conducting or stimulating research on problems of relevance to public administration, one effective means of increasing understanding would be to make known the Society's research interests. The assignment of liaison responsibilities to interested members of the Society, with coordination taking place by means of the central research committee, could result in much needed interdisciplinary communication. It is conceivable that in time ASPA and other professional groups could profitably join forces in sponsoring broad research inquiries of mutual interest.

These efforts would, of course, be promulgated on the assumption that what is being dealt with in public administration is neither an academic discipline nor a vocation limited to certain so-called management skills. For if public administration is the art of government its requirements are for knowledge from many sources—knowledge which only becomes useful in practice when blended with many elements upon which research sheds only modest light—humanism, balanced judgment, personal integrity, and a sense of public responsibility.

Improving and Sharing State Statistics

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THE increasing complexities of modern life have given new emphasis to the use of statistical data, as is indicated by the rapidity with which electronic data processing is being accepted. This fact makes it more important than ever before to assure the quality of information gathered and to coordinate the data producing and distributing activities of related public agencies.

The efforts of the Wyoming state government in this direction may, therefore, be of interest to other governments. Of particular interest may be the manner in which a committee working without staff has succeeded in changing methods used by a number of state departments and has itself become a valuable data-producing agency.

Wyoming's two-year-old central statistical committee has raised the quality of statistical data being collected, made these data more easily accessible, helped prevent duplicate surveys, initiated standardization of coding systems to permit better comparison, inventoried statistics collected by the various state agencies, and filled in some gaps in information. Remarkably, the committee has accomplished all these things through voluntary support and participation on the part of state agencies and without a budget of its own.

The idea for the committee grew out of the failure of research workers to find data they needed for study of the state's economy. As an example, in 1950 an economic research team at the University of Wyoming reported that their work was hampered by the nonavailability of data that should have been available

from state agencies. Such data as they did find were made available largely because certain administrators recognized the value of the information they collected. They were not required to make it available to the general public unless it related to the objectives of the particular agency as, for example, tax collection.

When useful data were found they seldom fitted with related information. For example, data on employment in grocery stores, collected by the Employment Security Commission, could not be compared with sales as indicated by sales tax receipts, collected by the Board of Equalization, owing to the different coding systems. For the same reason it was impossible to relate industrial accidents to employment. Also, much valuable historical data had been thrown away, or almost as bad from a statistician's point of view, it had been stored on microfilm.

In order to obtain data that the team expected to find in state offices, costly surveys had to be made. Similar economic studies made today cost considerably less.

With the beginning of an industrial development program, pressure increased for better economic information to assist in the location of industries around the state. The state-federal agricultural statistician—for many years the only effective statistical agency in the state—tried to supply needed information, but the expanding work load of that office kept the demand unsatisfied. In place of valid statistics, economic analysts were forced to estimate such figures as the number of gov-

ernmental or agricultural workers in counties and communities.

In addition to the demand for industrial development information, a newly established retirement system for state employees needed unavailable figures to be used in setting rates, and a school financing program had to be planned and operated without information on school district finances and resources needed for comparative purposes.

Central Statistical Committee Conceived

LATE in 1955, the Governor called in the commissioner of labor—whose department though devoid of statisticians was statutorily responsible for statistics—and asked that he act to improve the data collection of the state government. The commissioner sought help from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Wyoming Employment Security Commission, and the University of Wyoming, and with the advice of these agencies drew up a plan. The first step was a meeting with the Governor of representatives of some of the agencies that were interested in statistical functions: the commissioner of labor and statistics, the commissioner of agriculture, the director of the Employment Security Commission and his chief statistician, and from the University the dean of the College of Commerce and Industry, the director of business research of that college, and the head of the Statistics Department.

The Governor quickly issued a directive setting up the central statistical committee, with the following objectives:

1. To coordinate the collection and dissemination of statistical data, discouraging duplication;
2. To establish quality standards for collection, analysis, and presentation;
3. To encourage uniform classification and comparability;
4. To consult with state agencies on their statistical problems.

The first meeting of the committee agreed on two additional objectives:

5. To compile data itself that were immediately needed;
6. To stress timeliness in release of information.

Data-producing as well as data-consuming agencies were represented on the committee. They included representatives from the agencies present at the organization meeting and from the Highway Department, the Budget Office, and the Board of Equalization, or a total of seven persons. Since then a new Department of Revenue has been created and its director added to the committee membership.

Subcommittee Achievements

TASK FORCE subcommittees were established to do most of the work, headed in all but one case by a member of the central committee but including representatives of interested organizations in and out of state government. For example, the subcommittee on government employment includes staff members of the Wyoming Association of Municipalities and the Wyoming Taxpayers Association.

One subcommittee immediately began an inventory of the data currently being collected, bringing to the committee an exhibit of each type of data and a report on how frequently it was assembled, how distributed, and whether it was available to the public if requested. This subcommittee has discovered previously untapped sources and has combined information collected separately by different agencies to produce more valuable data than had been available previously.

The same subcommittee was responsible for the committee's public relations. Soon after work began, it arranged a meeting of some fifty heads of agencies to describe the committee's objectives and plans, stressing the important role that statistical method can play in administration as well as the data various state agencies had needed and found lacking. Attendance, though voluntary, was large, and questions and informal discussion at the close indicated genuine interest. Of course, the participation of representatives of a large number of state agencies on various subcommittees also helped pave the way for wide understanding of the committee's mission.

Other subcommittees have been compiling information through surveys of their own or have been working on survey methods that could achieve needed research results. For ex-

ample, fairly reliable information on government employment has been obtained; it does not even resemble the estimates in use before the survey. In addition, the Wyoming County Officers Association and the Association of Municipalities obtained by-product information they wanted through the study.

Another subcommittee studied the potentials of data processing equipment for the state government. The subcommittee's recommendation for a central data processing unit (in addition to computers in the Highway Department and the Employment Security Commission) has been accepted by the Governor and Legislature.

Another subcommittee, headed by the chairman of the University's Department of Statistics, is a consulting unit. One example of its activities: working with an agency that wanted to estimate training and rehabilitation needs of the disabled and aged, it headed off a proposed census of 5,000 persons, replacing it with a plan using sampling, machine tabulation, and a clarified and simplified questionnaire.

The final subcommittee is trying to encourage standard classifications. Plans for major reclassification of categories of data used in the Department of Revenue are progressing. Other agencies, recognizing the importance of comparability for testing administrative efficiency, among other things, are working toward standardization.

In addition to subcommittee work, the Assistant Commissioner of Labor, who acts as secretary to the committee, has set up a central inventory of state statistics. Persons seeking information now know where to start to find out what exists.

Evaluation

ALTHOUGH many members were skeptical at the start, they are now in unanimous agreement that the work of the committee has been of value. Little resistance to proposed changes has been encountered and no resistance has long endured. Indeed, many agencies have welcomed the committee's help; one has used statistics developed with the committee's aid to justify its program of work.

The changes voluntarily made in the operations of state agencies that traditionally have maintained an independent attitude, the speed with which results have begun to show up, and the fact that much leadership and support have come from outside the strictly governmental agencies serve to indicate that the methods used by the committee have been well chosen and the achievements dramatic.

Several important factors have contributed to the success of the committee's work. Of prime importance was the active support of the Governor. Another factor was the wide representation on subcommittees. The early meeting with state agency heads to describe the committee's work was also important. The size of the committee and the caliber of its membership have also contributed to its success; it is small enough to be manageable and large enough to make committee work a side line for all participants. University participation was natural since the personnel involved had already worked with state officials in various capacities, including cooperative research projects. Finally, the committee has succeeded because state officials have found that it meets felt needs.

The Personnel Turnover Concept: A Reappraisal

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AN INTERESTING, if forgotten, fact concerning the beginnings of the personnel movement in this country is that labor or personnel turnover figured heavily in bringing the attention of management to the need for specialization in the executive function of personnel administration. After a depression period of large-scale unemployment in 1912 and during a period of labor scarcity in 1917, the Third Conference of Employment Managers met in Philadelphia and devoted their entire conference to the problem of turnover. In the introduction to the report of the proceedings, Commissioner of Labor Statistics Royal Meeker indicated the vital connection between the study of turnover and the beginning of the personnel movement:

The employment manager was created for the purpose of cutting down the cost to the employer of rapidly shifting labor forces. This new species of expert has come to stay. His importance increases as the labor demand increases relative to the labor supply.¹

In the forty years since that early conference of personnel experts, the study of turnover in the personnel field has steadily declined in importance. This decline has been due to several factors that will be examined presently, but

¹ *Proceedings of Employment Managers' Conference, Philadelphia, Pa., April 2 and 3, 1917*, Bulletin No. 227, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (U. S. Government Printing Office, 1917), p. 5.

primarily it has been the result of a lack of attention to the theoretical assumptions underlying the concept of turnover that allowed the continued use of a technique of data collection that is severely limited in value.

What is needed now is a reappraisal of the concept in the light of recent developments in organization theory and research methods and tools. The problem of maintaining personal contributions to the achievement of organizational goals is obviously important to any theory of organization and permeates all phases of the study of organization. This article will consider briefly the concept of personnel turnover, review its development, and appraise the results of forty-five years of research and study.

The Definition of Turnover

PERSONNEL turnover is usually defined as the "influx and exit of individuals into and out of the working force of an organization over a specific period of time."² Movements into the organization, ordinarily not an important part of turnover analysis, are called accessions.

² Gordon S. Watkins *et al.*, *Management of Personnel and Labor Relations* (McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1950), p. 343. See also O. Glenn Stahl, *Public Personnel Administration*, 4th ed. (Harper & Brothers, 1956), pp. 469-70; Robert J. Batson, *Employee Turnover Statistics: Collection, Analysis, Use*, Personnel Brief No. 17, Civil Service Assembly, April 1956; and Jeanette Siegel, "Measurement of Labor Turnover," 76 *Monthly Labor Review* 519-22 (May, 1953).

Movements out of the organization are called separations, and four kinds are commonly identified: voluntary resignations or quits, dismissals, layoffs, and death or retirement. Other subclassifications of separations have been used, such as avoidable and unavoidable separations, and they have been the subject of some dispute in the development of the definition of turnover. However, the use of these subclassifications is generally not looked on with much favor.

In early studies of turnover the research topic was over-all separations, and when investigators spoke of reducing labor turnover they referred to dismissals, layoffs, and voluntary quits. Before 1929, in published calculations of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the total separation was regarded as the labor turnover. However, as personnel techniques improved, reducing avoidable dismissals; as production planning increased, controlling avoidable layoffs; and as the satisfaction-dissatisfaction view of the causes of separation grew, more emphasis was placed upon voluntary resignations.

Beginning also with the earliest studies, accessions and separations were quantified by the use of a ratio of a group of leavers, classified on some common characteristic, to the average work force. Since that time there have been many minor modifications in the ratio, but essentially the method of computing turnover remains the same. Many investigators multiply the ratio by 100 to obtain a percentage rate. The same method is used to obtain rates for different types of separations—quits, dismissals, layoffs, and so forth.

One argument about method over the years has been the question of how the denominator of the ratio, the average work force, should be calculated. The usual method is to add the total work force at the beginning of the period of time under consideration to that at the end and divide by 2. In 1922 Brissenden and Frankel, in *Labor Turnover in Industry*, argued for an average based on employees actually at work according to attendance records, and an early study by the Industrial Fatigue Research Board of Great Britain (1921) used a more complex statistical method to avoid what the researchers felt were rough techniques. This question has ceased to be a major

issue, although no single method has been agreed upon.

Evaluation of the Concept

THERE are a number of possible ways in which the customary turnover concept might be evaluated. For the purposes of this article two approaches appear the most fruitful and economical: (a) evaluation of the concept as it relates to progress in understanding the turnover process and its causes or correlates; (b) evaluation of turnover as a concept applicable to the study of organization and administration.

As an Aid to Understanding the Turnover Process

The situation with respect to progress in understanding turnover and its correlates is very confusing. Consider the practical level first, where the objective of turnover research is the reduction of separations. Table 1 shows the reasons for turnover enumerated by Boyd Fisher, vice-president of the Executives' Club of the Detroit Board of Commerce, in a talk before the first meeting of the Employment Managers' Conference in Minneapolis in 1916, and the reasons listed by the Bureau of Employment Security of the Department of Labor in 1951.

Other similar or longer lists can be found in current personnel periodicals and in some textbooks. In the effort to correlate turnover with some characteristic of the employee, many types of biographical data have also been investigated. For example, high turnover rates have been associated with women employees, younger employees, less educated employees, minority group members, height, weight, and other factors.

The judgment implied by Table 1—that little progress has been made at this level of analysis—is echoed by a research group in Great Britain that has been investigating industrial turnover. They said in 1948:

A company faced, on the one hand, by problems of high labor turnover and, on the other hand, by the increased overhead costs resulting from the introduction of new personnel schemes is in a serious dilemma in the face of the incompleteness of present understanding of the problem of labor

Table 1
Classifications of Reasons for Labor Turnover

Fisher (1916) ^a	Bureau of Employment Security (1951) ^b
1. Unchecked firing by foremen	5. Inadequate or poor supervision
2. Religious prejudice	
3. Poor selection	1. Inadequate selection and assignment
4. Poor knowledge of job requirements	2. Poor knowledge of job requirements
5. Lack of training	7. Lack of well-organized training program
6. Faulty scheduling of work	
7. Seasonal and cyclical variations	
8. Long hours	
9. Low wages	6. Inadequate or unsound wage classification structure
10. Inequalities of pay system	
11. Failure to reward efficiency	4. Lack of opportunity for advancement
12. Grievances	8. Ineffective grievance procedures
13. Lack of means of redress of grievances	
14. Bad working and plant conditions	3. Unsatisfactory working conditions and surroundings
	9. Lack of in-plant facilities and services
	10. Inadequate community facilities

^a "Methods of Reducing Labor Turnover," U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletin No. 196 (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1916), pp. 18-19.

^b U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Employment Security, *Suggestions for Control of Turnover and Absenteeism* (U.S. Government Printing Office, October, 1951), pp. 10-11.

turnover. Personnel policies directed toward improving the binding quality of the relationship between employees and the companies for whom they work have tended to be based upon investigations into reasons for leaving. Studies of the reasons for leaving have, however, been generally disappointing.³

³ A. K. Rice, J. M. Hill, and E. L. Trist, "The Representation of Labor Turnover as a Social Process," *Human Relations* 3:69-70 (1950).

What about research results at the theoretical level, where it might be said that the objective of investigation is fundamental knowledge of individual behavior in organizations? Results of this type of investigation are not so easily represented by a comparative listing, but it is this writer's view that the status of over-all understanding is comparable. An extremely large number of phenomena have been found to be "causes" of turnover, or in more satisfactory terms, to be highly correlated with turnover. A few of these findings will be illustrative.

Mayo and Lombard found that management inattention to the formation of teams resulted in high turnover. Coch and French found that arbitrary change in new production tasks that required retraining to reach normal production was a cause of resistance to management, frustration, and high turnover. Rice, Hill, and Trist found turnover to be a social process related to the institution, where the entire relation of employee to firm should be considered: his joining, staying, and leaving—not merely his separation. Wickert found turnover closely associated with feelings of ego involvement and participation in decision-making. Marrow found that individual feelings of failure and frustration were related to high turnover. Sagi, Olmsted, and Atelsek found that lack of psychological involvement and low interpersonal status were related to high turnover in small groups.⁴

It would appear, then, that on the theoretical as on the practical level there is a bewildering list of variables, all relatable to personnel turnover. The theoretical variables are also related to several levels of behavior: the level of the individual, of the organization, and of the social system. The comment of Rice, Hill, and Trist concerning the inadequacy of the practical analysis of turnover also seems to apply at the theoretical level.

As a Concept in the Study of Organization

A concept is an abstraction that in a short-hand manner designates a class of observations. How a concept is defined depends upon the view of the significance of observed at-

⁴ See bibliographical note at the end of this article for a list of these recent studies.

tributes at a particular time. Concepts change as the evaluation of the utility of a particular classification changes.

Personnel turnover is such a concept—a means of abstracting a particular class of human actions from extremely complex observations of human beings in concrete situations. It implies that knowledge about this class of behaviors will help to understand and control them.

Forty-five years ago, when this concept was developed, organization was conceived to be a formal, structural entity. Organization was a thing, like a building, that an individual walked into and out of. The number of persons who walked out was defined as the separation and was considered to be an index of what the structure was like inside. To find out why individuals walked out investigators attempted to determine what floor they came from and whether the floor was dark, overheated, or cold. The significant defining characteristics of the individual were conceived to be such factors as age, sex, salary, height, weight, and education. To find out why the individual left the building these attributes also were investigated.

As long as organization and the individual were viewed in these terms there was no particular reason for criticizing the personnel turnover concept, because it directed attention to behavior that was considered significant. It enabled investigators to collect data that they thought would simplify a complex mass of observed behaviors. However, since that time the concept of organization and of the individual has been materially revised, and it is necessary to reevaluate the utility of the concepts associated with the abandoned view.

In defining personnel turnover as the "influx and exit of individuals into and out of the working force of an organization over a specified period of time," the working force is defined by the organization. The points of entrance and exit are procedural, structural points between which the individual is formally designated a member of the organization. It is assumed that all members contribute actions to the organization and all nonmembers do not. This assumption is similar to the assumption that a formal delegation of duties to a position means that the person in the posi-

tion is, in fact, the person who actually carries out those duties. As has been found in this second case, it need not necessarily follow that formal designation establishes or describes the behavior in which the individual engages as a member, or the behavior of the organization toward him.

The implication here is that while there may well be a connection between personnel turnover and the behaviors that the modern view of organization suggests are important, this connection must be demonstrated. Until the relationship can be demonstrated the value of the traditional concept is open to question.

Causes of Difficulties with the Turnover Concept

THERE are a large number of complex factors contributing to the problems of the study of turnover and also of the whole study of organization and administration; any effort to single out causes raises many questions and much discussion. However, the questions are worth raising if they help to generate more interest in the field of organizational investigation.

Effects of Early Objectives of Turnover Research

The early period of research in turnover can be said to begin with the first studies of labor turnover in Germany in 1909 and 1910 and to close with the publication of Sumner Slichter's *The Turnover of Factory Labor* in 1919. It was during this period that the concept of labor or personnel turnover was defined and accepted as an important concept in the field of personnel and management. It is important here to place the beginning of that research in the setting of the times.

That period included the zenith of scientific management, which began in the late 1880's. By 1912 the important works of Frederick Taylor had been published and his principles had been widely publicized by Louis Brandeis before the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1911 and in 1912 by the hearings before the Special Committee of the House of Representatives to Investigate the Taylor and Other Systems of Shop Management. The period between 1911 and 1919 was a time of demonstra-

tion projects in scientific management and of exorbitant claims of what the results of its application to industry would be.

This period coincided with the early movement to develop a specialized field of personnel administration, and this development was at least in part a result of the climate of opinion engendered by the scientific management movement. The personnel movement was still very much in its infancy, and one lever used to gain acceptance for it was the extremely high cost of labor turnover.

For example, Chairman John Williams, in introducing Magnus Alexander, who had done the first important study of labor turnover in the United States, in 1913, to the Employment Managers' Conference in Philadelphia in 1917, said:

In the early stages of employment management one of the handicaps seemed to me to be the idealistic presentation of the subject. . . . One man saw that men wanted to know why they should do this, why there should be employment departments. The answer was that that is the right way to do it, it is the economical way; doing it any other way would cost you money. Following along that line he made a study covering practically the entire country, and he produced facts as to the actual cost of hiring and firing that were startling to the average man.⁵

In this same period there were extreme fluctuations in employment and unemployment. In 1910 the unemployed numbered 553,000; by 1915 the number had increased to 2,355,000; in 1916 it dropped to 187,000. In 1918 there were 3,099,000 more employed than were estimated in the total work force; in 1921 the unemployed numbered 4,754,000.⁶

Those who were in humanitarian revolt against the impersonality of large-scale industry grasped the promise of a specialized employment management function offered by the scientific management movement. They justified this function by the practical costs to industry and society of the fluctuations in employment and unemployment.

Scientific management and its orientation

⁵ Bulletin No. 227, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, p. 12.

⁶ U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789-1945* (U. S. Government Printing Office, 1949), p. 65.

had principally two effects on the concept of turnover. First, at this stage scientific management preached the benefits that would accrue from its adoption by industry and emphasized the principle of increased efficiency and the reduction of waste—but in the market place this principle became reduction in costs. The effect was to direct attention to the structural aspect of turnover, the cost of arriving and the cost of leaving the structure.

In addition to the stress placed on costs, scientific management emphasized research. Tead and Metcalf observed in 1920, for example:

The development of scientific knowledge and standard methods of procedure in the several branches of industrial administration has tended directly to show the need for a scientific approach to the personnel aspects of administration.⁷

The influential force of scientific management operated to direct the research efforts of the new personnel movement toward the structural view of organization that is represented by the investigation of the waste and cost of personnel turnover.

The waste-cost feature, as one of the spearheads for the introduction of personnel management, affected the development of the concept of personnel turnover by concentrating on parts of the relationship between the individual worker and the organization that produced figures showing the need for personnel management. This was the normal reaction of individuals who believed in a principle. In this case the principle centered on the place of personnel management in the employer-employee relationship as a means of overcoming what they felt to be the loss of personal contact between the two, and of reasserting the identity of employer-employee objectives.

Boyd Fisher's article, referred to above, exemplifies the use of turnover costs as a spearhead for developing an awareness of personnel management needs. He opens his discussion of methods of reducing labor turnover by citing the example of the Ford Motor Company, pointing out that before a profit-sharing plan went into effect the rate of labor turnover was 400 per cent, but that afterward it dropped to 23 per cent. Mr. Fisher estimated that, as a re-

⁷ Ordway Tead and Henry C. Metcalf, *Personnel Administration* (McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1920), p. 25.

sult of the reduction in turnover, Ford had realized a return of \$2,400,000 on the \$10,000,000 that the company had expected to give away. He discussed means of reducing turnover as follows:

... it is not feasible to deal with a specific remedy for each separate cause but, rather, to group them under the following main headings:

- A. A central employment department.
- B. Physical examinations.
- C. Industrial education.
- D. Regularized production.
- E. Square-deal management.

To cut down the turnover a centralized employment department, managed by a man with gumption, is the prime necessity. Unless this can be arranged, none of the specific remedies can be attempted. . . . Given a central employment department . . . we may hopefully confide to it the specific remedies for the turnover of labor.⁸

The final factor that affected the definition of the personnel turnover concept was the extreme fluctuation of employment. Turnover was looked upon as one of the causes of this fluctuation and, as such, was another weapon in the fight to establish the field of personnel management. Fluctuations occurred in periods of labor scarcity and of unemployment. Thus, early in 1916 a speaker at the Boston Conference of Employment Managers looked at the problem from the unemployment standpoint:

An absolutely different viewpoint was needed; and the first method of approach had to be from the viewpoint of waste. Therefore, these men who have never before been organized, as I have described, to compare notes, to exchange experiences, to understand what was going on under their very noses, these men were asked to come together and discuss, first, their responsibility for that terrific waste represented by the leakage of employees—a preventable leakage—and the complication of a community's nonemployment problem through that leakage. . . . Now, this, ladies and gentlemen, is a technical engineering problem I am discussing, not only vague, sentimental altruism. It means the same scientific study that has so far been given to cost keeping, factory

management, and the other devices which have dealt with machines, with management, and, too, incidentally, with men.

Now, that same engineering insight, plus vision, plus capacity to cooperate with desires of those who produce—that is the new profession of handling men.⁹

Paul Douglas mentions the factor of labor scarcity in an article in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, when he points out that public interest in the turnover problem developed

... shortly before this country's entrance into the World War, in part because the shutting off of immigration forced American industries to conserve their labor supply more carefully and in part because of the relative scarcity of labor during the period of American participation in the war.¹⁰

The need to solve the problem of fluctuations in employment, and the development of employment management guided by the precepts of scientific management, determined the nature of the traditional concept of personnel turnover. These determinants required a concept for which the technique of data collection was relatively simple, one which led to data easily applied to the pressing problems at hand and amenable to classification into categories in common use in the study of organization and management. The data obtained were statistics showing the magnitude of the turnover problem, its cost, the elements of organization, and the elements of the employment situation that were contributing to the problem.

The tone of the research and the kind of data to be gathered were described by Ethelbert Stewart, Commissioner of Labor Statistics, in discussing the first labor turnover study of the Bureau of Labor Statistics before the Boston Employment Managers' Conference in 1916:

⁸ Meyer Bloomfield, "The Aim and Work of Employment Managers' Associations," *Proceedings of Conference of the Employment Managers' Association of Boston, Mass.: Held May 10, 1916*, Bulletin No. 202, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (U. S. Government Printing Office, 1916), pp. 43-44.

¹⁰ Paul Douglas, "Labor Turnover," in Edwin R. A. Seligman (ed.), *8 Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* 709 (1932).

⁹ Boyd Fisher, "Methods of Reducing Labor Turnover," *Proceedings of Employment Managers' Conference* (Minneapolis, Jan. 19 and 20, 1916), Bulletin No. 196, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (U. S. Government Printing Office, 1916), p. 19.

If you will keep the records, the statisticians will tell you where the trouble is. We can already tell you from the figures we have what classes of labor furnish the greatest amount of turnover. In many plants we can tell you which department is furnishing the greatest volume of turnover. . . . For this and many other reasons the statistician must know, if he is to be of the greatest possible service to you, which job or jobs are furnishing the greatest labor turnover.¹¹

This orientation did not change significantly until World War II. The data described are what might be called administrative statistics, the rough-and-ready kind that are immediately intelligible and, at least so it seemed, readily available for application to an immediate problem that must be met by the administrator. This is the way in which Mayo and Lombard described the situation in 1944:

We found a curious attitude both in industries and in the universities toward the problems of labor turnover and absenteeism. Studies were little more than statistical; they showed that the symptoms were serious, without any attempt to consider them in the light of the situations in which they occurred. Indeed, the implication of many studies was that labor turnover and absenteeism can be separated for inquiry from the situations in which they arise. This assumption leads, of course, to the further assumption that a specific *ad hoc* remedy can be prescribed for the symptoms without consideration of the defect of organization that the symptoms indicate.¹²

Thus Mayo and Lombard, and also Rice, Hill and Trist, raised the question of the value of these data even for application to an immediate problem.

Now, of course, the situation is changed. Personnel management is accepted. But once personnel management was accepted, turnover gave over the center of the stage to such technical problems as recruitment, selection, placement, and training. Personnel turnover has now reached the stage where articles must be written periodically to remind the practi-

tioner that it exists, describe what it is, and tell how it can be used. The only drawback is that the question of what the concept of turnover is good for must be faced. This question is illustrated by the following statement in a recent review of the use of turnover statistics, aimed at the practitioner:

We have said, then, that employee turnover is both desirable and inevitable. But how much turnover is either desirable or inevitable? Put another way, when does the turnover rate become critical—costly in both money and efficiency? What turnover rate should be considered a danger signal? Unfortunately, there is no clear-cut answer to these questions. The variables that enter into employee turnover are so complex that it is questionable whether any single figure could be meaningfully accepted by public employers, even as a danger signal.¹³

Effects of Developments in Organization Theory

The second principal reason for difficulty with personnel turnover as a concept lies in a changed view of organization—the move from a structural, static view to one that considers organization to be the interdependent behavior of human beings interacting with other human beings.

This shift has not been sudden or revolutionary. Its beginnings are often attributed to investigations carried out at the Hawthorne Works of the Western Electric Company in Chicago covering the five-year period from 1927 to 1932. It was significant that in the Hawthorne studies experiments were conducted that supported the newly developing trend of thought in the social sciences. It is especially notable that the parts of these studies that have modified thinking grew out of the attempt to obtain knowledge about the then currently accepted relation between physical conditions of work and fatigue and monotony among employees. Out of these experiments—traditional in their conception and radical in their results—there developed a new comprehension of the inadequacy of older concepts.

It is also of interest that the British psychologist, J. A. C. Brown, pointed out that Elton Mayo, who was responsible for the Hawthorne studies, made an investigation of the causes of

¹¹ Informal address by Ethelbert Stewart, *Proceedings of Conference of the Employment Managers' Association of Boston, Mass.: Held May 10, 1916, op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

¹² Elton Mayo and George F. F. Lombard, *Teamwork and Labor Turnover in the Aircraft Industry of Southern California* (Harvard University, Graduate School of Business Administration, 1944), p. 5.

¹³ Batson, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

high turnover in a textile mill in 1923. Brown maintains that the same social factors were at work in this situation and that Mayo missed them because of his "preoccupation with a mechanistic individual psychology and the material conditions of the job."¹⁴ It is possible, also, that Mayo's oversight could be partly attributed to the limitations of the structural view of turnover that has been discussed.

The effect of the Hawthorne studies, according to Nathan Grundstein, was that a number of key ideas were added to our view of organization—such as primary group, goals and motivation, status, role, prestige, communication, attitudes, and informal organization. He goes on to point out the impact of these key ideas:

Organization behavior within this set of ideas is very complex. You have a whole new range of human behavior that must now be taken into account to describe what goes on in organizations. Hitherto neglected data concerning the behavior of individuals within the organization are now significant. The several implications of this are of considerable practical importance. In examining organization behavior new techniques of data collection are needed to get at the multi-dimensional character of that behavior. Newly recognized problems of organization demand new operational techniques for their solution. And, finally, there must be creativeness in establishing new structural-functional arrangements to take into account factors which social psychology deems essential for effective organization.¹⁵

These implications have particular reference to the difficulties that are being encountered in the use of the personnel turnover concept. For, while the view of organization has changed greatly, the concept of turnover remains essentially what it was in 1916. However, this is not the entire difficulty. Given correlations with the significant behavior that Grundstein refers to, the turnover concept could still be made useful. The difficulty is not

necessarily inherent in the concept itself; in fact, some current research indicates promise of a correlation of turnover with significant organizational behavior. The connection must be demonstrated, however, before the traditional concept can be utilized.

A large portion of the trouble in this case lies in the fact that the new techniques of data collection in the social sciences have been slow in developing. In addition, and perhaps more important, the standards and values of scientific research methods have been slow in developing. This is particularly true for much of personnel turnover research.

The general method of traditional turnover research has been to establish classes of employees on the basis of biographical or other demographic characteristics and then to compute turnover or separation rates for these classes. The assumption was that if the turnover rate was high for a given class, there was some important connection between membership in it and separation. A recent criticism of the application of IBM punched card system to social science research is also applicable to the customary method of conducting turnover research:

The utilization of the reckoning devices of modern technology requires the production of numbers; and questionnaires, along with the way in which they are analyzed, can supply us with a vast number of numbers. *The question, however, now arises whether they are important numbers, whether they are numbers which tell us about the real world of social behavior, and permit us to go on to higher steps of the scientific process.*¹⁶

With the added complexity of the modern approach of social science to behavior, it becomes even more urgent that we ask the right questions.

Conclusions

FROM this appraisal of turnover several conclusions can be drawn concerning its current value as a concept for organizing observations of human beings in organizations and how that value can be increased.

¹⁴ Nathan Glazer, "The American Soldier as Science," 8 *Commentary* 487-96 (1949), quoted in Herbert Hyman, *Survey Design and Analysis* (Free Press, 1955), p. 25. Italics added.

¹⁵ J. A. C. Brown, *The Social Psychology of Industry* (Penguin Books Inc., 1954), pp. 73-74. All of chapter 3 is devoted to the work of Elton Mayo, the Hawthorne experiments, and criticisms of these studies.

¹⁶ Nathan Grundstein, "Summary of Discussion of the Hawthorne Experiment" (transcript of a session of the Michigan Employment Security Commission Seminar, Wayne University [Department of Public Administration], October 18, 1954), p. 6. (Mimeographed.)

It seems fairly obvious that turnover, as it is commonly conceived and investigated, is of limited usefulness either in improving practical understanding and control of the loss of organization members or in furthering the study of organization. The present notion of turnover does not do a satisfactory job of enabling us to simplify and order the confused mass of observations in this sphere of human activity. Forty-five years of collecting and analyzing turnover data have not materially enhanced our knowledge about the process of loss of membership from groups and organizations. Turnover in its traditional formulation served an earlier and now outmoded conception of organization, and even in this service lost its position of significance because of its limited practical usefulness.

It seems necessary to conclude, also, that while the traditional definition of turnover is structural and procedural, it obviously relates to a fundamental process of organization—maintaining the indispensable services of organization members. It is probably owing to this visible relationship that interest in the phenomenon has continued even after such a long period of relative sterility.

In addition to its obvious relationship to the organizational process, turnover has certain undeniable advantages that, in part, account for its early prominence. It is easily identified and quantified. Every organization has some method of differentiating between members and nonmembers and, since individuals are indivisible, when an individual's status changes from membership to nonmembership a quantitative change has occurred. Notwithstanding the temptation to attribute too much importance to these two points, they do constitute advantages.

There is every reason to expect that the study of personnel turnover in organizations can be productive. However, two essential prerequisites must be met before such possibilities can be realized. The observations that we have classified as turnover must be related to the kinds of observations that have assumed current importance with the development of social science. The procedural and structural concept of turnover must be connected with newer concepts related to the determinants of human behavior—needs, attitudes, frustrations, and so on.

The studies of Mayo and Lombard; Coch and French; Wickert; Marrow; and Sagi, Olmsted, and Atelsek, noted above, indicate a slow movement in this direction since World War II. Several of these studies also illustrate the need for meeting the second requisite for the development of a productive study of turnover—that we ask the right questions. We must ask questions of theoretical significance if turnover research is to fulfill its possibilities.

The attempt to develop these possibilities by investigating the relationship of turnover to more recently discovered characteristics of human behavior cannot avoid a certain amount of fishing. We should use every means at hand to guide us to the best spot in which to cast our hook. It is particularly important to turn our attention wherever possible away from the mere multiplication of types of behaviors that can be associated with turnover. It will be important to relate these types to one another, to ask which contribute most to the loss of members, and to inquire whether they may be producing other symptoms of the willingness or unwillingness of the individual to maintain his membership and contribution.

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The Welfare State

These problems [of juvenile delinquency, drug addiction, mental health, the aged] pose issues touching the human spirit that, by contrast, make mere problems of economics and administration easy to resolve. They challenge the welfare state to imaginative thinking of the highest order, to sociological and psychological research, to such experimentation as is possible with the lives of human beings. The public has been alerted to these problems, and there is a ferment of ideas for their solution. But the answers will be neither quick nor easy. Here more than elsewhere the welfare state must be tentative, and must proceed by trial and error. Here, above all, it must be ready to entertain new ideas and put them to the test.

The welfare state is doomed—or blessed—to be perpetually unfinished. The only thing that never changes is change itself, and our striving for human betterment affords no exception to the rule. Before one set of problems is fully solved another set will surely have emerged. There need be no fear that the welfare state will cease to challenge the best that our ever-growing scientific knowledge and our statesmanship can combine to offer.

—Alanson W. Willcox, "Patterns of Social Legislation: Reflections on the Welfare State," 6 *Journal of Public Law* 24 (Spring, 1957. American Social Insurance Symposium, Paper No. 1).

Reviews of Books and Documents

Leadership To Provide for the Common Defense

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SOLDIERS AND SCHOLARS; MILITARY EDUCATION AND NATIONAL POLICY, by John W. Masland and Laurence I. Radway. Princeton University Press, 1957. Pp. 529. \$7.50.

THE SOLDIER AND THE STATE; THE THEORY AND POLITICS OF CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS, by Samuel P. Huntington. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1957. Pp. 533. \$7.50.

THE CIVILIAN AND THE MILITARY; A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN ANTIMILITARIST TRADITION, by Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr. Oxford University Press, 1956. Pp. 340. \$6.50.

I

THESE three scholarly books should be read in the above order, the first two for the information and assistance of both citizens and government officials (civilian and military), the third for an understanding of the concerns and attitudes in the minds of some of our current leadership generation. The subtitles are, considering their concision, very descriptive. The authors of all three books received assistance (certainly essential in the case of *Soldiers and Scholars*) from foundation grants. The reviewers hereby pay a tribute to the foundations making possible these and some of the other books mentioned below.

It is better for the reader to approach books carrying a "message" with a store of separately acquired facts and considerations bearing on the problems under discussion. Messrs. Hunt-

ington and Ekirch are certainly advocates; the Huntington book is described by the publisher as "... provocative ... challenges most of the current assumptions and prevailing ideas with respect to the role of the military in society"; the Ekirch seems to conclude that there is no *proper* role for the military and feels that "militarism ... imperils the future of liberalism and democracy." Although Huntington leans materially on the historical approach and Ekirch leans almost entirely thereon, it is almost certain that they competed but rarely for source materials to support the thread of their respective discussions.

The team of Masland and Radway, in contrast, are almost overly scientific and dispassionate, although they have set forth their findings in most readable prose. Rather than leaning heavily on reading what others have written since 1776, as do the two other authors, these professors of political science at Dartmouth College have adopted the military commander's principle of the personal reconnaissance as their primary method of research. They sought out what the professional military think they should be doing as well as what they are actually doing. They were fortunate in their personal contacts, which brought them the cooperation of the agencies and individuals they wished to examine.

It is interesting to speculate what would have been the effect on the other authors if they had had the opportunity to use the Masland-Radway source material—a large file at Dartmouth to which other researchers in the national security field now make pilgrimages. Mr. Ekirch would probably have been little moved. His "military" seem to be somewhat

NOTE: The views herein are those of the authors writing as private individuals and should not be ascribed to the United States Military Academy or any government agency.

different from the Masland-Radway "soldier." Ekirch seems to step off from certain immovable assumptions about what is good in human existence and about the incompatibility of that good with what he calls "militarism" and "militarists." This good, when spoken of in one word, seems to be "liberal." It usually appears, however, as "liberals and pacifists." As to Mr. Huntington, an assimilation of the Masland-Radway contribution might have changed somewhat his definition of the "professional military ethic," even though he would probably not relent from his insistence that there is such an ethic and that it is very important to the health and survival of American society today. The Masland-Radway studies might have clarified and made less dogmatic his views on civilian control, which, more than his attempt at a philosophy of military professionalism, is a useful contribution to thinking about public administration.

II

Soldiers and Scholars steps off from the statement that "the traditional distinction between military and civilian affairs in American life has become less significant." National security encompasses the responsibilities of nonmilitary as well as military agencies. The military are partners in an enterprise greater than their own which contains no clear boundary line between the "military" and the "non-military." As a consequence of the revolutionary change in the American national security problem and the enlarged function of the military in solving that problem, the military officer will continue to have an expanded participation in the formulation and the implementation of national security policy.

Having set forth the foregoing premises, the authors proceed to examine the desirable qualifications of military men for policy-making roles. They agree with Huntington that the first qualification is military competence. Also, they hold, the military professional must have general executive capacity, be able to grasp large complicated situations, be able to adapt to changing circumstances, avoid parochialism, and have other desirable characteristics—including being able to function creatively under civilian control.

The authors then turn to examine the military schooling system to see if, and how, it contributes to the desirable abilities and characteristics. They give very little attention to the service school level (5-10 years after commissioning) and the Command and General Staff level (10-15 years after commissioning), since these schools have principally to do with more narrowly military competence. They focus on the undergraduate education of the service academies and on the five "war" colleges—National, Industrial, Army, Navy, and Air. The ROTC is the subject of another study and a forthcoming book by this team. They find an increasing focus of education on the target of policy roles for military men and conclude, in general, that a fairly good job is being done. The exposition may be an eye opener to some readers who have not quite realized what many relatively senior officers are doing today—or that many of them have from one year to four or five years (some even have Ph.D.'s) of formal schooling pointed to their policy and executive roles. But Masland and Radway also pinpoint shortcomings: the faculties of the war colleges are generally not up to the desirable standards in either quality or tenure; Annapolis can do better on its faculty and perhaps on its curriculum, which leans to being "trade school"; West Point's 425 hours of mathematics are not defensible, even if traditional, and so forth. These, and others, are helpful criticisms which the institutions concerned should heed.

Something of a case can be made against the authors for phrasing suggestions and criticisms in language that is too kind. But they may thereby be getting a useful impact which more flaming words would not have provided. The discussion of the large civilian graduate schooling program of the services (over 1,000 officers in school at a time) is inadequate. Over 40 per cent of recent West Point classes, for example, have been flowing, within 10-12 years after graduation, to one or more years of civilian graduate school—some of them to Professor Huntington's classes (but not always to agree with him).

Woven inconspicuously through the book is a very interesting portrayal of the present-day professional officer as Masland and Radway see him. Perhaps some in their more senior

years should be presented as "soldier-statesmen," but many could well be described as "soldier-managers" or "soldier-executives." The authors note the influence of professional doctrines in setting behavior patterns. The doctrines of the "estimate of the situation" and of "completed staff work," stressed in all military schooling, should be of interest to public administrators. In discussing professionalism, these authors are interested in jobs actually being held and in attitudes toward the national security mission, rather than in testing whether officers have been traditionally "conservative" or "liberal."

If these reviewers were fortunate enough to have a graduate seminar in problems of current public policy, they would probably have their students read Huntington's *The Soldier and the State* for two main reasons: (a) the thesis on military professionalism is thought-provoking and is presented in a way which will generate discussion and the development of alternate theses; (b) the discussion of aspects of civilian control and of national security organization is most informative—those concerned with administration and policy in this area should read with care.

Huntington has produced an ambitious and important work, withal at times exasperating. No attempt will be made here to explain the author's concepts of "fusionists," and of "subjective civilian control" and "objective civilian control." They are rooted in a basic misconception of the problem and are primarily grist for the classroom anyway. (The crucial problem is not how to assure that military and civilian authorities stay in their respective spheres but, given the fact that in the modern era military, political, and other considerations overlap, how to assure the effective integration—under civilian leadership—of the total national security effort.) When he moves to the problems created by our way of governing, he is closer to reality. His thoughts on the bifurcated control of the militia, on executive-legislative dualism and its relationship to the military, on the "deceptive quality of formal legal structure," on organization of the Department of Defense, and on many other matters are very useful. However, his case against having the President as Commander in Chief seems an

entirely academic discussion, and unwise in this day of nuclear weapons.

Very few, if any, of his "professionals" have successfully held high military positions in the United States during the last twenty years. (Huntington would probably agree since he holds that the U.S. Army was unprofessional in World War II.) On the other hand, most successful officers of recent years have had many of the characteristics he emphasizes. But they, in addition, have had other capacities and characteristics of the type emphasized in the Masland-Radway study. While his selection of sources is not open to as much criticism as is Professor Ekirch's, in straining to maintain the purity of his thesis on professionalism he lays himself open to attack on his interpretation of World War II history; for example, did Marshall really have "an infatuation" with unconditional surrender when it was his staff which wrote and processed the paper (the demand to Japanese to surrender) which formally abrogated the policy? How can he continue to present the myth of the Balkan strategy after the way Huntington's own Harvard colleague, Professor Schlesinger, did a documented flaying of Chester Wilmot's book, *Struggle for Europe* (Harper, 1952), in his *Reporter* review—a flaying supported by Drew Middleton's similar *New York Times* review?

Huntington finds the birth of pristine professionalism in the Army's Indian posts of the latter part of the last century and at times gives the impression that the insulation of an Indian post existence might still contribute best to efficiency of the military. But he skips over the historical fact, mentioned by Masland and Radway, that the record in the Spanish-American War could hardly be called outstanding in professionalism.

Professor Ekirch's *The Civilian and the Military* records—with voluminous documentation—the history of antimilitarism (opposition to preparedness of any sort) in our country. He and his sources tolerate the Revolutionary War as marginally acceptable since it got us started as a nation, and particularly since it was fought in a more "liberal" way with hundreds of thousands of short-timers, rather than with professionals. He does not note that the colonies had to turn to an ally—France—for the Navy (professional) and about

half the Army (professional) at the final battle. All other uses of armed force after the Revolution, and programs to provide therefor, are questionable in his eyes and the opposition thereto (but not the case for) is carefully recorded in this book.

But *The Civilian and the Military* is a useful book, if only that it reminds us that this tradition of antimilitarism is an important factor in our past and still conditions some areas of public opinion today. After all, a high proportion of our middle-aged, and older, leaders were conditioned in the climate presented by Professor Ekirch—as also was a considerable proportion of the current members of the teaching profession. The relationship of tradition to isolationism is interestingly discussed and the theme that liberalism and pacifism go hand in hand is elaborated endlessly. There is no adequate mention of the rather strong traditions in the southern states in a direction opposite to the writer's interest. But, then, as Huntington points out, the southern states were not liberal.

Revisionist historians interpreting the history of the World War II period should read and heed this book. It contributes to an understanding of why we probably could not have reaped a better harvest from our victory even if our leadership had had the vision of these historians' 20-20 hindsight.

The author does not include in his historical approach the limited need for military force in carrying out the mission set forth in the preamble of the Constitution. If he had done so, he might have been even more convincing, for a good case can be made for policies of isolationism and unpreparedness during the century when our country sailed on a summer sea, removed and insulated from world affairs. The people were then "antimilitarist" and perhaps rightly so. But, as the international realities of the world have changed, this same people rightly have, withal with costly tardiness, come to realize and support the necessity for a more positive national security program.

Professor Ekirch, who teaches at American University, seems to accept that the traditional fear of a military takeover, Cromwell style, no longer exists, but he points with alarm to the dangers of present-day "militarism" (i.e., what

others call preparedness, readiness, and so forth) to our society and institutions. This pointing is not to be lightly disregarded. Certainly \$40-billion national security budgets, 7 million civilians who have been conditioned overseas in uniform, an officer corps ranking in size with the major professions, some industries materially dependent on the security effort, increasing numbers of influential retired personnel—these things and dozens of others deserve the most careful study.

III

THE interconnections and gaps among these three books will become further apparent in the discussion below which concerns two pertinent related topics: (1) related writings on the national and world setting; (2) a caution on leaning too heavily on the orthodox approach of historical research in seeking for an understanding of the uncertain present and cloudy future in the national security area.

Research and publications of the type discussed here should be solidly under way about a generation and a half ahead of the needs of society and its public officials in order to make the optimum impact. This ideal programming permits time to educate the teachers who will then educate the needed leadership generation. So, in welcoming the very recent outrush of useful books on the realities of our national security problems and programs, we should still recognize how far current production has lagged behind the need. But, better late than not at all.

None of the three books here reviewed attempts a comprehensive presentation of why we have (or have had) any "military" anyhow (although the Masland-Radway book does contain a succinct summary of the authors' concept of military responsibilities in the modern age). In order, therefore, to grapple with the subject matter with complete effectiveness, the reader needs more information and analysis—particularly in appraising the Ekirch and Huntington books. Fortunately there is now available a group of books, newly published, which are effective reference works in the field of national security.

Professor Robert E. Osgood of the University of Chicago has just provided an excellent

study entitled *Limited War; The Challenge to American Strategy* (University of Chicago Press, 1957). His point that our attitudes have fluctuated between pacifism and pugnacity is supported by some of the climate of Mr. Ekirch's book. In contrast to Huntington's basic thesis, he writes from the standpoint that "the trouble with this theory of separation is that military and non-military considerations are inextricably entangled. . . ." Henry Kissinger's *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy* (Harper, 1957) is a must. Stemming from a Council on Foreign Relations study group containing a number of knowledgeable and distinguished individuals, this is one of the more significant books of our time. The forerunner to these books, William W. Kaufmann and Associates on *Military Policy and National Security* from the Princeton University Press (1956), is still very useful.

On organization for national security, Timothy W. Stanley's *American Defense and National Security* (Public Affairs Press, 1956) is an excellent reference stemming from the work of Harvard's Defense Policy Seminar, which is the pioneer endeavor of civilian higher education in the field in which the war colleges concentrate.

Professor Huntington makes the point that civilian control is currently principally budgetary control and that defense policy is too much dominated by comptrollers and budgeteers. He receives support from Arthur Smithies' *The Budgetary Process in the United States* (McGraw-Hill, 1955). Frederick C. Mosher's *Program Budgeting: Theory and Practice with Particular Reference to the U.S. Department of the Army* (Public Administration Service, 1954) is also useful.

On the general subject of national security economics there is far too little available. Klaus Knorr on *The War Potential of Nations* (Princeton University Press, 1956) is helpful but does not tackle the very considerable infiltration of national security factors and considerations into our American economy. *Economics of National Security* by G. A. Lincoln and colleagues (Prentice-Hall, 1953) may also be useful.

Any two-foot shelf on national security should also have *Arms and Men; A Study in American Military History* by Walter Millis

(S. P. Putnam's Sons, 1956). This dean among writers on military and national security subjects is unlikely to yield precedence to many in the calling of the roll of American liberals. Yet by Ekirch's criteria, which some may consider a bit quaint, he would probably rate as a "militarist." In his *New York Times* review of the Huntington book, he records himself as in "explosive disagreement" with something on nearly every page. These reviewers sense that Mr. Millis does not agree with either Mr. Ekirch or Mr. Huntington as to what constitutes modern American "liberalism." In other words, the three books here reviewed do not, by any means, box the compass of views on the subject matter.

For a one-book reference to American military history, *Military Heritage of America* by the Dupuys, father and son (McGraw-Hill, 1956), is suggested. Finally, or perhaps first, Philip Wylie's novel *Tomorrow* (Rinehart, 1954) gives a glimpse of the ultimate in catastrophe against which the military program guards.

Commenting on the utility of the historical approach to national security problems at a recent meeting of scholars, Mr. Walter Millis suggested that since about 1950 the historical approach may have become of only secondary value for comprehending the present and future. He pointed out that the revolutionary surge in the political as well as technological fields makes precedents of questionable helpfulness, or perhaps even misleading in their applicability to the present. Although the considerable proportion of military historians in the gathering reacted to Mr. Millis' suggestion with dismay, even they would grant that scholars should be cautious in moving to conclusions concerning the present and the future by leaning solely on history. Mr. Ekirch finessed this problem by tapering off his presentation of views so that he does very little but point with alarm after 1945—which, after all, was nearly half a generation ago. (The record of this period between 1945 and the present may soon be provided in a book by Walter Millis arising out of Harold Stein's study project at Princeton University supported by the Twentieth Century Fund.) Incidentally, some of the dangers of one variety of the historical approach can be seen from the fact that Mr.

Ekirch uses the word "traditional" or synonyms thereof almost as much as he uses the terms "liberals" and "pacifists." It is implicit in his book that, irrespective of existing conditions, any national security policy or action which was and/or is "nontraditional" was and/or is suspect and probably wrong.

IV

THE subtitle of Professor Huntington's book contains the term "civil-military relations." Although not yet ready for storage with the bronze ax and the horseless carriage, it ought to be used only with the special care given remaining examples of the Model T Ford. Certainly, it ought not be used without a clear and precise definition of the user's meaning. For instance, there can be a quite clear definition of the relationship between civil law and military law. But where is the clarity of definition on "civil persons" and "military persons," especially in light of the legal view of the counsel of the Rockefeller Committee that the Secretary of Defense is "the highest military officer of the Department"?¹ And where is the line between civil problems and programs on the one hand and military problems and programs on the other when we face up to such questions as mobilization preparedness, aid to allies, and the current principles of management in the armed forces?

The initial rush of statements and writings after World War II under the "civil-military" label was generated, in significant part, by the intergovernmental relationships which arose during our mobilization for that war and by the acrimony incident to the development of policy over Germany (and the postwar civil affairs administration thereof). Professor Huntington has some interesting thoughts on the relationships in the wartime mobilization. But since these matters are of the past and unlikely to reappear in the same form, this background no longer justifies retention in such general usage of a term which seems to imply differing objectives and which, for many, actually im-

plies antagonism. These reviewers recognize that a good many scholarly projects have gotten under way with the title "civil-military." But these worthy and useful endeavors (e.g., the case studies of likely value to thinking on public administration being developed by Princeton's Professor Stein) could just as well be classified under a more appropriate title. The committee of the Social Science Research Council which turns its attention to the field of the books here reviewed was once titled *Civil-Military Relations Research*. Within the last two years, without changing its area of cognizance, it has changed its name to the *Committee on National Security Policy Research*.

The Masland-Radway and Huntington books, combined with sources defining our current national security problem (e.g., Os-good's and Kissinger's books just cited), are useful reference posts for the much needed study of modern civilian control of the modern military. Huntington points out the fragmentation of this control within our governmental structure—between state and federal government, between executive and legislative branches. In doing so, he cuts a lot of underbrush in his discussion, if only through pointing out the sins that are committed in the name of civilian control—a sacred cow to which everybody bows but which nobody has defined—and the tendency of each interest group to define civilian control in a way which enhances its particular power and influence.

Certainly the application of force in support of national policy must be closely responsive to politically responsible leadership. Modern communications now make it possible for the President personally to make, if he so desires, the critical decisions on the use or withholding of military force. Most critical of all, he now holds formally in his hands the ability to release nuclear weapons. The military professional no longer has the degree of freedom he once possessed in carrying out the technical aspects of his professional job. Since, in fact, the use of any military force is now a much more sensitive affair, the traditional thesis that the military men are to be called on and given a comparatively free hand when the statesmen fail is certainly now for the museum. With it logically goes any thesis that the military

¹ The current organization of the Department of Defense stems primarily from the report of this Committee: *Report of the Rockefeller Committee on Department of Defense Organization* (U. S. Government Printing Office, 1953).

should be kept principally on shipboard and in Indian posts sharpening their professionalism.

The citizens of the uniformed services no longer live most of their lives far removed from civilians and civilian ways of life. Since there are comparatively few living quarters on military posts, they often live in civilian communities. They spend a considerable portion of their service in foreign countries with the consequent representation mission. The Seventh Army in Europe, for instance, has the number one mission of combat readiness on a 2-hour alert basis. But the number two mission is "to be a Good Neighbor to our German Good Neighbors."

Officers now have a wide variety of experience; for example, in a poll recently taken of a graduating class at the Command and General Staff College at Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas (whose students are selected from the top 50 per cent of the Army's officers of their age and grade), it was shown that the professional military careers of these officers thus far (averaging about thirteen years of service) had split approximately into thirds in types of experience—one-third command, one-third staff and administrative, one-third schools and teaching. The modern professional military man is a commander-manager and a planner-teacher. If he does not attain general officer rank within thirty years of service he retires to civilian life, which will, incidentally, shortly be receiving a significantly large flow of officers with twenty or more years of service. There are already many in positions of teaching, business, and public administration—including elected office.

In the next thirteen years, officers of the above-cited Leavenworth class will probably have even less command, with more military management and national security tasks such as serving on allied staffs and foreign missions. Henceforth, those who attain general and flag rank will usually have had two years of "graduate" military college, one more narrowly professional, the other (war college) dealing primarily with "national security" in the broad interpretation of the term. In addition, many of them will be products of civilian graduate schools. One of the conclusions of *Soldiers and Scholars* is: "Within a matter of

a few years it is likely that officers assigned to these positions [policy roles] will have had significantly *more* formal educational preparation than comparable civilian officials. . . . In many cases the educational experience helps to diminish a narrow parochialism and to increase versatility. . . . They [the schools] facilitate creative military service under civilian leadership in a democratic society."

The schooling program of the professional military, combined with policies of career management, is tending to bring up a large body of public servants who are "capable generalists" in national security administration as well as being technically qualified in their respective military specialties.

We are now in the surge of a revolution in the realm of force in international affairs. This concept of a revolution applies to the process and progress of relations among nations; it also applies to weapons, tactics, organization of forces, and the whole complex of military power. The traditional elements of land, sea, and air (or means of locomotion as Kissinger labels them) are rapidly losing their usefulness as the main guideline for defining military organization. Moreover, with absolute destruction of a state conceivably possible in a matter of days, or even hours, and absolute security impossible, we have no readily agreed floor or ceiling for a state's need for military power. Even orthodox planning methods for approximating capabilities and military requirements are now of limited applicability.

It is possible to continue at great length lamenting the unprecedented problems and, by inference, the lack of guidance provided by the historical approach. "The policies of the quiet past are unequal to the stormy present." Perhaps the primary function of civilian leadership should be the forceful tackling of these problems. Many, perhaps most, of them by their nature cannot be tackled by the professional military. If the latter assault them at all, they need strong civilian leadership and backing.

There is room for a scholarly book on the exact nature of the responsibilities in the administration of national security affairs which politically responsible civilians must carry. For example, the professional military cannot deal with internal political issues (but they

can do the staff work for a civilian superior). They cannot undertake such tasks as the unpleasant job of representation carried by the Secretary of the Army in the widely televised hearings some years ago. Nor can they take responsibility for the choices of budget and force levels which govern the risks of military success in case of war. Since national security is a seamless fabric, even though the warp and woof have great variety in texture and other characteristics, civilian leadership in its operations now requires that the individuals

concerned combine political responsibility and the ability of a "capable generalist" in their portion of the national security field. The military officer in the policy advisory position becomes a capable generalist through a deliberately planned career pattern of variegated experience and schooling, starting from experience in "shirt sleeve" positions. This approach is not at all easy, and perhaps not practicable, for the politically responsible civilian. But the problem is important enough for some scholarly examination.

Aren't We All?

By CHARLES S. ASCHER, Brooklyn College

HUMAN PROBLEMS OF A STATE MENTAL HOSPITAL, by Ivan Belknap, Ph.D. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1956. Pp. 277. \$5.50.

FROM CUSTODIAL TO THERAPEUTIC PATIENT CARE IN MENTAL HOSPITALS: EXPLORATIONS IN SOCIAL TREATMENT, by Milton Greenblatt, M.D., Richard H. York, Ph.D., and Esther Lucile Brown, Ph.D. Russell Sage Foundation, 1955. Pp. 495. \$5.00.

THE MENTAL HOSPITAL: A STUDY OF INSTITUTIONAL PARTICIPATION IN PSYCHIATRIC ILLNESS AND TREATMENT, by Alfred H. Stanton, M.D. and Morris S. Schwartz, Ph.D. Basic Books, Inc., 1954. Pp. 492. \$7.50.

FIFTH CONFERENCE ON ADMINISTRATIVE MEDICINE, October 28-30, 1956, George S. Stevenson, M.D., editor. Josiah Macy, Jr. Foundation, in press.

The mental hospital offers an excellent proving-ground for the detailed study and testing of the types of exercise of power. Tiny details in the way a decision is effected may have extraordinary effects on a patient's behavior, and may be microscopically discussed with an eye to detail of expression and motivation by several experts in personality.

—Stanton and Schwartz, p. 247.

STEVENSON: In this situation you have people (patients) who have exceptional sensitivity and

who magnify many factors that perhaps would be passed over by relatively normal people, and by that magnification we come to appreciate things that actually have a bearing on the total of medical administration.

FREMONT-SMITH: Or any administration.

—Macy Conference.

ADMINISTRATORS of mental hospitals have recently been taking a fresh look at their institutions, to find out why so many patients who do not seem to have organic disease fail to get well enough to go back into the outside world. To aid them in these appraisals, the administrators have called upon social scientists—psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists—who have spent several years in the institution as participant-observers, often teamed with a psychiatrist.

One of these teams stated as its working premise that the function of a psychiatric hospital is to use every form of treatment available to restore the patient to health or to help him improve enough to leave the hospital as

NOTE: Published too late for comment in this review, but a work that should be a useful symposium on the problems here discussed, with contributions by many of the best students of the subject, is *The Patient and the Mental Hospital*, edited by Milton Greenblatt, M.D., Daniel Levinson, and Richard H. Williams. The Free Press, 1957. \$6.00.

soon as possible; short of such success, to aid him to lead as nearly normal a life as possible within the institution. (Greenblatt, p. 3) To achieve this result, says Dr. Esther Lucile Brown of the Russell Sage Foundation, one must remake the hospital as a social institution, "replace autocratic administration, inflexible departmentalization, and reliance on considerations of status, salary, and power by more democratic procedures, greater general permissiveness and delegation of responsibility, reduction of departmental and status barriers, greater encouragement of initiative" and use of the concept of the therapeutic team. (Greenblatt, p. 17)

Studies in Administration

THIS statement reveals clearly that we have here studies in administration, the findings of which are indeed of great interest to readers of this *Review*. Although they have different sponsorship, they are complementary. The Greenblatt-York-Brown study grew out of the continuing concern of the Russell Sage Foundation with the application of the findings of the social sciences to decision-making. Dr. Greenblatt, who was in charge of research laboratories at the Boston Psychopathic Hospital, and thus out of the immediate stream of administrative reform, records simply and lucidly the changes of a decade under the brilliant leadership of Dr. Harry Solomon "toward a therapeutic community" in this small hospital (110 beds) used by the Harvard Medical School as a teaching and research center. Dr. York, a clinical psychologist, describes efforts during eighteen months to introduce parallel innovations in adjacent large public institutions—a state hospital and a veterans' facility—with varying success. Dr. Brown, long on the staff of the Foundation, contributes a systematic introduction. The volume is in the best tradition of the Foundation for readable statement of social science material.

Ivan Belknap is a sociologist, trained also in economics and social psychology at the University of Texas and in field research methods at the University of Chicago, who spent three years with a team of graduate students, with support from the Hogg Foundation for Men-

tal Hygiene and others, surveying a large state mental hospital (nearly 3,000 beds) in a "Southern" state. His book explores the forces—within and without the hospital—that keep it largely a custodial institution. He proposes—with some passion—the drastic changes that would be needed to make it a "therapeutic community." The title of his book does not adequately reveal his concern with organization, structure, and process.

The authors of both these volumes pay tribute to the work of Stanton (psychiatrist) and Schwartz (sociologist) as "the most comprehensive publication on the social structure of a mental hospital." It represents three years of participant-observation, with support from the National Institute of Mental Health, in a private hospital, also an advanced teaching and research center, with a staff of 116 professionals and 49 nonprofessionals for only 60 patients, at a cost per patient of \$850 a month. Truly this is a Magic Mountain of Thomas Mann, where every interpersonal relationship can be tape-recorded, played back, and analyzed.¹ Yet even at Chestnut Lodge there were grave problems in both formal and informal relationships, leading to a felt need for reorganization. This volume is more rigorously scientific in presentation than the others; for the general administrator, it may be (in the words of Baedeker) "arduous but rewarding."

The Proceedings of the Macy Foundation Conference record a lively three-day discussion of "administrative medicine in mental health," involving chiefs of federal, state, and local services, directors of clinics, training schools, cooperative and trade union health services, the distinguished head of a remarkable municipal psychiatric service in Britain, and one lone general administrator. In the tradition of the Macy Foundation, the conference discussions were "permissive," free-ranging give-and-take, not tightly organized. They have been given only moderate editorial screening, so that some panning is still needed to separate out the nuggets of wisdom.

¹ Indeed, we find here an interesting inversion. Stanton and Schwartz feel impelled to stress that, after all, the substance of a decision is as important as the personality type or manner of the decision-maker. P. 257.

Wise Precepts for the Administrator

THESE studies have multiple interest for the general administrator. First, as the sentences at the head of this review suggest, these fascinating studies in human relations reveal under magnification universal problems in the relations of the administrator and the administered. An episode between nurse or attendant and patient translates itself readily into an incident between housing manager and tenant, welfare officer and client, park attendant, policeman, or licensing officer and citizen. Let the reader ask himself whether the following insights, picked at random from the books under review, are not equally meaningful for his enterprise:

A person in a supervisory position cannot deal with requests which she feels are unreasonable by simply ignoring them. . . . People low in the hospital hierarchy [frequently say] that when they ask for something, they would much rather be turned down than left dangling. (Stanton, p. 240)

The administrative staff should avoid falsifying the world to the patient and . . . should not withhold relevant facts except for valid reason. . . . Patients have expressed deep appreciation for repeated explanation as one of the most important factors to which in retrospect they attributed their improvement. (Stanton, p. 77)

Patients rarely objected to the use of force per se. Occasionally they requested it. . . . But many patients did object to the use of force as a substitute for listening to the patient's attempted explanation of his problem. [A frequent misunderstanding was] that non-punitive sanctions were misinterpreted by patients as punishment. . . . The clear recognition of the inevitability of occasional sanctions can promote their more skillful use. (Stanton, pp. 282-4)

There was little or no serious protest against most rules. . . . In contrast, many patients protested many times against rules *not* being enforced, including those restricting their own activities. . . . Protests . . . were likely to appear . . . when the necessity for rules was not "self-evident" or when they appeared to be primarily "for the hospital's benefit." (Stanton, pp. 251-2)

[The nurse] would rather that the Doctor was precise in his order so that she could say very definitely to the patient, "The doctor said that you cannot do this," rather than having to tell the

patient that it was she who was preventing the patient from doing something. (Stanton, p. 260)

Each of the studies reports the success of self-government by the patients, who reveal an unsuspected ability to carry responsibility for themselves and others. The director of mental health for a great metropolis recalled to the Macy Conference how curious it seemed to him, when he worked in a state hospital, "how little effort we made to get back escaped patients. The only way I could interpret this, in a good many of the escapes, was that, actually, this patient was really ready to be discharged, and the only way he could make this known was to run off, because we didn't get around to discharging him." There is equally impressive testimony that patients are often the best judges of their own ripeness for "privileges," such as the freedom of the grounds.

The guiding spirits of the Long Island State Park Commission and other outstanding park systems have long acted upon the insight gained by Dr. Greenblatt when the radical experiment was initiated in his hospital of brightening up the ward and letting the patients wear attractive clothes—patients will not destroy what they thoroughly enjoy! Many police departments could profit by the detailed case study of "Morale and Its Breakdown: Collective Disturbance" from which Stanton and Schwartz draw the considered conclusion that an acute crisis among the patients "was always preceded by a period of less acute partial disorganization among the staff; 'contagion' did not arise out of the blue, but out of recognizable conditions." (p. 395)

Classic Problems of Administration

A SECOND interest for the general administrator is the opportunity these studies give him to test some of his own tools of analysis in an area where they have not been widely applied. It is striking that our authors seem frequently to be struggling with classic problems of administration in the belief that they are unique problems of the psychiatric institution. The behavioral scientists show some awareness of the literature of social organization in industry (Mayo, Roethlisberger, Barnard), hardly any in political science, and none in public administration. "The mental

hospital, then, like all institutions is a highly organized arrangement whereby human beings can live together and meet each other's and their own needs in a relatively predictable way. . . . The very existence of the institution depends upon the fact that to a large extent it meets the needs of all the people in it." Is this Stanton and Schwartz in 1954 or John M. Gaus in 1936?²

The administrative structure of the State Hospital must be changed from "scalar" to "parallel" organization. Is this Urwick or Belknap (p. 215)? Stanton and Schwartz "think of the political aspects of a social organization as concerned with power and influence." They use a definition of "power" derived from Lyman Bryson: ". . . the location within a social order of a decision which will be enforced by the total social order or by its enforcing agents." They add: "These conceptions . . . have been very helpful indeed in analyzing many problems occurring at the hospital which were confusing or ambiguous when considered in psychiatric or psychological language." (p. 247)

Belknap might counter by pointing out that administrative experts, when called upon, have not dealt with the central problems of the mental hospital. He records that the "Southern" State Hospital was twice surveyed by "business management" teams, one of which made a "thoroughly competent administrative analysis" of the management of what is truly a big business: 200 acres, 69 buildings, a power plant, farm, bakery, 424 medical and 186 nonmedical employees, with 2,960 patients. These administrative experts made an organization chart which marked out areas where business experience indicated that jobs should be better defined, but, says Belknap, they expected medical job analyses to be done by national medical standards. And indeed, what might the American Psychiatric Association have said if public administration specialists had offered comment on relationships among doctors, nurses, attendants, and patients?

² Stanton and Schwartz, pp. 26-7. See John M. Gaus, "A Theory of Organization in Public Administration," in Gaus, White and Dimock, *The Frontiers of Public Administration* (University of Chicago Press, 1936), p. 66.

Need for Clear Agreement on Goals

WHAT, then, are "principles of administration" illuminated by these studies? First and foremost, all our authors sense that the path "toward a therapeutic community" is blocked by lack of an explicit agreed statement of the *goals and objectives* of a mental institution. Chestnut Lodge, the advanced private institution, has five recognizable goals, according to Stanton and Schwartz: protection of the community, general care of the patient, education (of doctors and nurses), research, and profit. They give evidence of problems created by apparent conflicts between these goals: "consideration of hospital expenses was incommensurable with the personal values connected with promising medical treatment." (p. 93)

For the large state hospital the path to the therapeutic community is blocked by objectives set in the state constitution: the custody of "indigent lunatics" to protect persons and property against irrational acts. Therapy seems to be authorized only by interpreting legislation. The hospital is thus partly an "isolated poor farm," with inmates collected from jails and almshouses, carrying on welfare functions without relation to modern health, welfare, or employment services of the state. The medical organization—good military command, with staff and line—is oriented to physical care; according to Belknap it succeeds in keeping the place clean and minimizing "incidents." (p. 35)

The Macy Conference explored the significance of the greatest current contrast in goals: the "isolated" versus the "integrated" institution. Dr. T. P. Rees of Great Britain painted an exciting picture of his service in Croydon, where the hospital is one element in an all-embracing community service, working with public health clinics and school health programs. He was asked whether he considered himself the administrator of a hospital or of a community health program of which a hospital was a part. (Macy Conference)

Influence of "Community Expectations"

SECOND, there is common recognition that the goals are largely determined by community expectations. Dr. Alfred Bay of To-

peka State Hospital speaks cogently on this point both in his foreword to Belknap's book and in the Macy Conference. "The sequence of exposé, reform, progress, indifference, apathy and decline . . . has repeated itself too often to be fortuitous." Belknap records four such sequences in his state; the "community expectations" are set by "ill-defined public opinion on the status of mental illness and the functions of mental hospitals, entrenched political practices in state government, defensive and traditional attitudes of professions in the state hospitals and hostility or indifference on the part of professionals outside the state hospitals." (p. 9)³

Role of the Administrator

THESE considerations influence the role of the administrator in mental health. Said the director of a state department of mental hygiene to his confreres, "My job in Ohio has been primarily, as it seems to work out, to interpret what the psychiatrists are doing, to legislators and other people with means to help them do it." (Macy Conference) Belknap records the formidable professional requirements for the medical superintendent of the state hospital; yet, in operation, he seems occupied with outside public relations—with legal committing officers, families, and community agencies. (p. 73)

As the mental hospital becomes "integrated," part of a community service, the director can delegate his technical skills, says Dr. Bay: instead of knowing about farming and food service, he now needs conceptual skills or aptitudes: "diplomacy, the ability to interpret, expressiveness, literacy, . . . flexibility or adaptivity . . . broad interests in distinction to specialization." (Macy Conference)⁴

³ Belknap adds gloomily that his state hospital has no "community"—no volunteers, no contacts with patients' families. (p. 208) Dr. T. P. Rees suggests that the administrator can influence "community expectations": when families complain to him about his hospital, he tells them to talk to their municipal councilor. Macy Conference.

⁴ Dr. Bay says that technical skills remain dominant in the direction of a small "isolated" hospital. The comparison springs to mind of the small city that wants its city manager to be an engineer because of the apparent dominance of problems of physical plant.

The question then arises of the qualifications of the mental hospital administrator: need he be a physician or psychiatrist. This issue was debated at length at the Macy Conference. Community expectations in Belknap's "Southern" state and Great Britain foreclose the debate by requiring by law that the administrator must be a medical doctor.⁵ Belknap expresses strongly his doubt whether "the allocation of total responsibility for the management of state hospitals to the medical profession—and its acceptance by the profession—was actually a step forward for anyone concerned." (p. 34)

Conflicting Values about Administration

ONE of the important contributions of these examinations of the mental hospital as a social community, as an institution to fulfill the needs of its members, is the revelation that "administration" is held in low esteem by doctors and nurses. A Committee of the United Kingdom Ministry of Health on the Internal Administration of Hospitals asserted of nursing administration in mental hospitals, "We feel sure that the more the post of matron is pruned of its responsibility and authority, the less it will appeal to women with the qualities most needed for the work." (para. 170)

Yet Professor Chris Argyris of the Yale Labor and Management Center, in a case study of human relations in a hospital, reports that only one-fourth of the nursing supervisors say that they like supervising and two-thirds of the staff nurses do not look forward to a career in supervision.⁶ The nurse's ideal, in-

⁵ "In the mental hospital, the patient, if certified, is committed in law to the responsibility of the medical superintendent, who alone can authorize his discharge."—C. Tetlow, "Medical Administration in Mental Hospitals," *The Lancet*, Jan. 12, 1957, p. 90. Confirmed as desirable by the Report of the Committee on the Internal Administration of Hospitals, Ministry of Health, H.M.S.O. 1954, para. 138, despite contrary testimony from the Institute of Hospital Administrators, para. 129.

⁶ *Diagnosing Human Relations in Organization: A Case Study of a Hospital*. Studies in Organizational Behavior No. 2. New Haven: Labor and Management Center, Yale University, 1956. Pp. 42, 44, 68, 77. This was a study of a cancer hospital, but Stanton and Schwartz report that the "determined administrative interest" of a new "charge nurse" at Chestnut Lodge

culcated in nursing school, is to provide tender, loving care, to make herself not only helpful but indispensable to a person in need of human sympathy. Administration pulls her away from her ideal.

Similarly, the psychiatrist's ideal is not ward management. As soon as he passes his "specialty board" examination, he wants to move toward individual therapy or research. As a result "clinical administration," the management of the patient during the twenty-three hours a day when he is not in therapy, is in the hands of the young, less experienced, and less secure doctors.⁷

Dr. Barnett told the Macy Conference of a special high-level program at the Columbia University School of Public Health and Administrative Medicine, in conjunction with the American Psychiatric Association, to train psychiatrists in the administration of mental hospitals—with very few candidates. Other participants mused whether we were not trying to train the wrong people for administration: wasn't it a waste of time to spend seven years giving an administrator the education of a psychiatrist. The general administrator will recognize this problem as characteristic of many scientific services of government.

The Low Man as Central Figure

THE concept that the total hospital environment must be mobilized to attain the therapeutic goal forces our surveyors to recognize that the lowly ward attendant is the central figure. In Belknap's state hospital, a patient has only one chance in 280 of seeing a doctor. It is the attendant who really decides which of the doctor's orders to execute. Belknap makes a penetrating social study of the attendants. Their average educational level is the eighth grade. They have no possibility of promotion to the next higher social group—

led to "increasing complaints among the patients and supervisory personnel." p. 162.

⁷In view of the low esteem in which psychiatrists hold administration, it is surprising how much—and how indiscriminately—the phrase is used. Who is an "administrator," Dr. Peterson of WHO asked the Macy Conference: the "top person in the mental hospital who has the last word" or the ward "person who carries out certain administrative routines" (doctor or charge nurse).

the auxiliary professionals (social worker, occupational therapist). The turnover rate is 80 per cent a year. Yet the management experts who surveyed the hospital in 1931 noted a small group—about one-fifth—who were almost hereditary: seven-tenths of these lived on the grounds, three-fifths of them were married to other attendants. Their median length of service was twelve years. Belknap offers a fascinating composite picture of the "ideology" of the attendant: e.g. most patients behave better if they "know their place." He has a chronic suspicion that the auxiliary professionals (one "social class" above him) will take the credit if he does good work.

As a result of a management survey, the post of supervisor of attendants was abolished and a highly qualified Registered Nurse was installed. The sociologist observer notes that within a year the medical superintendent was by-passing this supervisor: whatever the formal organization chart, the informal lines of operation were from the superintendent through the business-management group to the attendants. This was the solid phalanx of old-timers, who by controlling supplies alone could greatly influence effectiveness on the ward.

All the surveyors agree that changing the job title from "attendant" to "psychiatric aide" will not help. Belknap calls it hypocrisy, given the low educational level, pay, and prestige. Esther Brown reports a one-year training school run for three years at Topeka with the cooperation of the Menningers and the Rockefeller Foundation.⁸

Belknap's most urgent recommendation is to change the place of the ward attendant in the administrative status structure of the hospital, to upgrade the job so as to attract, by adequate pay and promotion opportunities, college graduates with education in the social sciences. (p. 222) Dr. Greenblatt, in the Russell Sage Foundation volume, asks, more tentatively, "Can anything less than a social revolution within the hospital remedy these ills?" (p. 148) In how many committees on housing or building regulation, in how many police de-

⁸This experiment is reported by its director, Bernard H. Hall, and others, in *Psychiatric Aide Education* (Grune & Stratton, 1952).

partments, has the same question been asked: How can we change the "community expectations" to demand (and pay for) mechanical engineers instead of bricklayers as building inspectors or sociologically-grounded enforcement officers to deal with delinquent youth?

From Technician to Team Leader

HAVING recognized that the low man on the totem pole truly supports the organization of the hospital, our surveyors are led to recognize the importance of the "team" concept. Dr. Greenblatt presents a glowing picture of the head nurse, "released from the unhappy, tense role of taskmaster," become the "captain of the ward team," which includes the patients(!), attendants, and nurses. She is also the teacher of ward personnel (and patients) and a group leader, who conducts many formal and informal ward meetings. (p. 169) Belknap notes that even in the custodial state hospital, patient management is in the hands of a group of six or eight attendants on the ward, rather than any one identifiable order-giver. Most of the Stanton-Schwartz report deals with group processes and relationships.

This concept of the "team" is forward looking; it is of obvious importance for every administrative organization. Yet our authors report honestly difficulties in its proper development in mental hospitals; and we may usefully ask ourselves whether the same difficulties may not bedevil us in other public services. The major block to genuine team play that our surveyors identify is social cleavage. It begins with such simple matters as separate eating facilities for doctors, auxiliary subprofessionals, and attendants—even differences in the quality of the food served. The elimination of this barrier is said to have had beneficent results at Chestnut Lodge and Boston Psychiatric Hospital. Where else might it be tried? Belknap sees as more serious blocks the fundamental differences in educational level and the obvious impossibility of promotion, which lead the attendants to look for support to their own group and to their cultural equals in the business office, rather than to the professional groups, for a sense of solidarity. Professor Argyris, indeed, questions the applicability of the team concept to the work

of a nurse, which calls for comparatively few cross contacts. (p. 91)

Another familiar administrative difficulty blocks the "team": what Macmahon long ago characterized as the rival claims of specialty and hierarchy. A significant manifestation, reported in all these volumes, is the inconsistent demands on the ward "team" of two doctors. The therapist has the classic physician's relationship with the patient: he issues prescriptions resulting from his therapeutic contact (daily hour at Chestnut Lodge, rare sessions at State Hospital). The "clinical administrator," the doctor who "manages the other twenty-three hours," has other problems to solve and may issue other orders. The British Dr. Tetlow says, "Because the requirements of effective administrative psychiatry and the need to give the clinical consultant full responsibility are to some extent conflicting, it is not easy to find or to apply a remedy; but it is essential that one should be devised without undue delay."⁹

Staff Needs versus Patient Needs

THE surveyors all throw into high relief a question that many administrators may well ask about their own operations: are they run to meet the needs of the clients or the needs of the staff? Thus in a veterans' hospital, conventional personnel practices prescribed staff rotation to equalize night duty and vacation schedules. The patients did better when the same team was given steady assignment to the same ward. (Greenblatt, p. 269) In Belknap's state hospital, patients were formally classified medically by types of illness and degree of disturbance; but in fact, some mild cases were distributed through every ward—the attendants needed them to carry on the ward housekeeping. (p. 130) The proprietor-superintendent of Chestnut Lodge, in his introduction, notes that Stanton and Schwartz's investigation of differences of opinion among therapists, administrators, and

⁹ "Medical Administration in Mental Hospitals," *The Lancet*, Jan. 12, 1957, p. 90. The problem is additionally bedeviled, at Chestnut Lodge, by the issue of "confidence." How reconcile the therapist's Hippocratic responsibility to the patient with the needs of team discussion if there is to be team decision? Stanton and Schwartz, pp. 228 ff.

nurses made clear that the hospital procedures often reflected the personal needs of those involved, rather than the reality needs of the patients. Belknap says succinctly that to get on successfully, the patient in the state hospital must learn to adjust to the attendants' system.

The Social Community as Focus of Analysis

THE reader should by now sense the important systematic approach through which the participant-observers gained the insights of which a few examples have been given. They have viewed the hospital community—doctors, nurses, attendants, business staff, patients—as a human community. They have tried to record the formal organization, though these institutions have not usually used an organization chart as a tool of analysis. But, more important, they have noted—in extraordinary and sensitive detail—the actual lines of communication, the actual locus of decision-making, the ways in which the various human beings involved in the institution meet their needs. “The formal—explicit—organization of any lasting groups of human beings is always incomplete, and when closely studied will be found to be ambiguous and occasionally conflicting,” say Stanton and Schwartz; but persons in the group will usually succeed “in behaving in a highly organized way, roughly predictable . . . to round out and supplement the formalities.” (p. 297) They note perspicaciously that mistakes have a structure and meaning, a recognizable purpose—to solve a problem. Mistakes can be reduced, they suggest, by altering the institutional structure that favors some types of mistakes. (p. 19) The chapters of Stanton and Schwartz on communication as the basis of power are brilliant. (As already noted, they acknowledge help from concepts of political science in their analysis.)

Belknap offers diagrammatic charts of the formal lines of command and the informal lines of communication and action that reveal how poorly the two are related in a conventional hospital torn between conflicting requirements of custodial care and therapy. The informal ward organization, he says, enables the attendant to adjust the hospital's

formal classification (for psychiatric treatment) to the requirements of the daily management of the patients. (p. 151)

Many Other Facets of Interest

THIS account has reported only a few of the facets of interest of these volumes for the general administrator. The reader will want to explore others for himself. Thus, the debate in the Macy Conference over high-rise versus low-rise buildings concerns more than mental hospitals.¹⁰

The arguments for and against the large institution will be illuminating to administrators in other fields of public service: how to capture the human values of small group contacts (doubly important, of course, in mental therapy) in the face of a desperate shortage of qualified persons. Belknap notes the failure to apply “effective public health techniques” of extending the effective scope of an inadequate supply of qualified specialists by “inexpensive and simple” procedure, and the use of auxiliary personnel. (p. 3) In this context, it is surprising to find almost no reference in these volumes to William Alanson White, one of the recognized fathers of American psychiatry, whose *Autobiography of a Purpose* is on the reading list in courses in administration. White believed that he had demonstrated the feasibility of Belknap's precepts in his organization of the great (and large) St. Elizabeth's Hospital.

Back to the Insights of 1830

GENERAL administrators, finally, may ponder the recurrent appeal in these volumes to the “enlightened and effective management of mental diseases” that flourished in the United States and Great Britain more than a hundred years ago. A great French physician, Philippe Pinel, taught that the insane were “essentially normal people who had under-

¹⁰ Cf. Hans Strotzka, M.D., “Man, Health and City Structure,” 23 *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 9 (Winter, 1957). See also *Mental Health Aspects of Urbanization: Report of a Panel Discussion Conducted in the Economic and Social Council Chamber of the United Nations, March 11, 1957*. (New York and London: World Federation for Mental Health, 1957). Pp. 46. \$1.00.

gone excessive stresses that had robbed them of their reason." These social and psychological stresses were called "moral causes," and the therapy was called "moral treatment": "close and friendly association with the patient, intimate discussion of his difficulties, and the daily pursuit of purposeful activity." (Greenblatt, p. 407)¹¹

Shades of Lemuel Shattuck, Edwin Chadwick, Francis Place, Horace Mann, and the legion of social reformers, precursors of the welfare state, "rooted in the liberal philosophical and political movements of the nineteenth century." (Greenblatt, p. 407) Note among the leading causes given by our authors

for the decline of moral treatment—the rise of laboratory science! Such discoveries as the causes of brain syphilis and other brilliant findings of physiology and bacteriology led to a psychiatry that "dared not try anything without clearance from the pathologic laboratory." (p. 414) There was no room for "men of faith who worked largely by intuition"—but an intuition illumined by a respect for human worth and a love of human beings, even those with alienating behavior. Let us hope that the evolution of the behavioral sciences will supplement, not replace, that faith and intuition which should be one of the essential elements of the art of administration.

The States: A Citizen Concern

By JNO. D. MOSELEY, Austin College

THE FORTY-EIGHT STATES: THEIR TASKS AS POLICY MAKERS AND ADMINISTRATORS. The American Assembly, Graduate School of Business, Columbia University, 1955. Pp. 147.

CALIFORNIA STATE GOVERNMENT: ITS TASK AND ORGANIZATION. The California Assembly in co-operation with the American Assembly, 1956. Pp. 65.

THE 47TH STATE: AN APPRAISAL OF ITS GOVERNMENT, by Charles B. Judah and Frederick C. Irion. The New Mexico Assembly, Division of Research, Department of Government, University of New Mexico, 1956. Pp. 64. \$0.50.

STATE GOVERNMENTS IN THE SOUTH: FUNCTIONS AND PROBLEMS, by L. Vaughan Howard and John H. Fenton. The Southern Assembly in co-operation with the American Assembly, 1956. Pp. 67.

¹¹ See also Belknap, chap. 2. And see the current recognition of Dr. John Conolly, Pinel's British contemporary and fellow thinker and practitioner, Richard A. Hunter, M.D., "The Rise and Fall of Mental Nursing," 2 *The Lancet*, 1384 (1955), and Dr. T. P. Rees, Macy Conference. Dickens reports with fascination in his *American Notes* a visit to such an institution in South Boston. (1842) Quoted by Greenblatt, p. 409.

THE STATES IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST: HOW CAN THEIR CAPACITY FOR RESPONSIBLE SELF-GOVERNMENT BE STRENGTHENED? Pacific Northwest Assembly in co-operation with the American Assembly, Regional Sponsoring Committee, 1957. Pp. 55.

THE governments of the states deserve to be objects of their citizens' concern. They seldom are." With these lines James W. Fesler not only begins the American Assembly report on *The Forty-eight States* but at the same time sets the theme for that Assembly and for the regional and state assemblies that followed. He voices a concern for the operation of state governments that is currently arising among political scientists and leaders in public affairs. The ever-increasing volume of writings, both technical and general, on state government is evidence of this growing concern. In recent years there has been much talk of states' rights and encroachment by the federal government upon the power of the states, yet many of the most vocal critics have paid small attention to actual state operation as it meets problems within the state itself.

Today study commissions, such as the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, are emphasizing the importance of the state in

the federal system as they point to its basic role of being close to the people, of providing a sound place for experimentation, and of serving as a training ground for national leadership. Thus the American Assembly, in selecting citizen concern for the government of the states as its topic and theme, joins other forces in viewing this area of civic activity.

The American Assembly was established in 1950 at Columbia University by its then president, Dwight D. Eisenhower. This nonpartisan program of continuing conferences brings together representatives from such fields as labor, business, the professions, farming, and government to study objectively the major problems which confront the United States. The Assembly functions through three steps. First, its National Policy Board selects the topic for study from a list approved by a Faculty Advisory Committee. Second, a research staff, consisting of authorities in the field to be studied, prepares reports of the pertinent facts, figures, and opinions relating to the problem. Finally, a discussion based on the research reports is held for three or four days at Arden House, Harriman, New York. Areas of agreement and disagreement are discovered, and findings are drawn up. The reports and findings of the meeting are easily available, since it is a major objective of the American Assembly to get the information and issues to as many people as possible. Seven Assemblies, dealing with such topics as U.S.-Western Europe Relations, Economic Security for Americans, and United States Agriculture, had met previous to the one reviewed here.

The eighth American Assembly, which convened in October, 1955, to discuss the topic of the Forty-eight States, had an unusual follow-up. Four state or regional assemblies were subsequently held by universities or regional sponsoring committees in cooperation with the American Assembly and made possible through grants of the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The two regional assemblies were held in the South and in the Pacific Northwest; the two state assemblies were held in California and New Mexico. These assemblies followed the same pattern as the parent American Assembly: a research report, three days of discussion by widely representative groups, publication of findings. In addition to the

regional research report, each regional group also had available the eighth American Assembly report.

Findings of Five Assemblies

JAMES W. FESLER, technical director of the 1955 American Assembly, poses the central question in his introduction to the report and sets the stage for the authors of succeeding chapters. He recognizes the danger of generalization about the states. "To talk about 'state government' rather than 'state governments' is . . . to make an assumption of identity among the 48 that simply is not true." Within that limitation the central concern of the report is thus stated: "how well the states are doing their jobs, not what their jobs should be." The ensuing chapters approach this task with generalized discussion punctuated by charts, figures, and specific examples.

In the first chapter Harvey C. Mansfield gives an overview of "the states in the American system." He examines state finances—expenditures, revenues, and state aid—and describes recent trends in the functions of the states. Then, drawing from the abundant material of the discussion, he pinpoints the dilemma in this concluding section:

The general issue of centralization versus decentralization appears to be insoluble in meaningful general terms. It is the inherent paradox of federalism at once to unite and divide. The national government, as part of a larger strategy of building loyalty to the union, tolerates and encourages many diversities in state policy and practice; and the states likewise with their subdivisions. Thereby each leaves some of its citizens, locally in the minority, feeling abandoned to locally dominant elements with contrary views. The minorities appeal for relief to the larger units above them in the name of individual rights. If the more inclusive government moves to protect minority interests by establishing and trying to enforce a uniform national or state policy, it in turn aggrieves powerful local groups who will protest central interference in the name of states' rights or home rule. So diversity may promote unity, and uniformity promote division. The states in their intermediate position face this dilemma both above and below. . . . The issues for citizens who wish the states well are accordingly the selection and timing of specific measures and programs best calculated to raise visibility

of state governments, improve their competence, and inspire confidence in their responsibility. (p. 38)

Allan R. Richards in his chapter on "The Traditions of Government in the States" traces in historic framework the development of these traditions, then raises a battery of current questions and issues. One of the most provocative concerns experimentation by the states with parliamentary forms of government.

Should one or more states experiment with other basic forms of government, such as by having a governor (or prime minister) elected by the legislature? Can democracy exist only under separation of powers?

Is the contemporary fear of a powerful governor well-grounded in the modern world, or is the people's reluctance to provide machinery for strong governors based upon traditional eighteenth century fears?

Are we asking too much of the modern man when we ask him to be political chieftain, executive director, and legislative leader all at the same time? Does reorganization that consolidates a number of agencies better permit a governor to govern, or in modern times does it simply add to an already impossible work load? Is it reasonable to expect a governor to lead a legislature when he has no vote, when he may not participate in debate, when he may not introduce bills? How can we expect a governor to devote more time to official business and less time to political business when his future depends upon his popularity at the polls? (p. 63)

The politics of the states is well discussed by Dayton D. McKean who proposes this approach to their improvement:

Most of the serious students of state politics, however, believe that our politics suffers from a basic and dangerous weakness: the inability of the majority of the people, through parties, to govern. . . . There is today a high degree of agreement among the specialists that improvement in state politics needs to be made and with two objectives: simplicity and responsibility. (p. 83)

Finally he suggests:

A responsible two-party system in the states will not, however, be attained by statutory changes only. It will be necessary to have unicameral legislatures, a less wide separation of powers, unrestricted reelection of satisfactory governors, a short ballot, and other constitutional changes. We need perhaps

to return to the motto of the Progressive Period: Let the people rule! (p. 84)

The last two chapters, by Karl A. Bosworth and York Willbern, deal with Lawmaking and with Administration in state governments. These two authors cover the familiar battlegrounds of state government: constitutional limitations and problems of revision, representation in the legislature, the strong executive, departmentalization, staff service and professional personnel for both legislator and executive, and separation of powers. The discussion is well done, and in most cases the arguments on both sides carefully made, with concluding questions designed to promote group discussion.

The individual reports from California and New Mexico show areas of common concern and at the same time distinct contrasts between the two states. The California report presents specific discussion of the facts and problems of the state against the dual background of its dynamic growth and the theoretical issues of political science involved. The New Mexico report, entitled *The 47th State; An Appraisal of Its Government*, is thought of as supplementary to the American Assembly report. Throughout, one is conscious of New Mexico's Hispanic frontier heritage and also the newness of her statehood. In spite of these differences there are striking parallels in the fundamental problems discussed in connection with political parties, legislatures, and executives.

The background reports for the two groups of states take different approaches to their task. The Southern Assembly report, *State Governments in the South: Functions and Problems*, views the South as a distinct region, having, in addition to problems common to all states, certain problems that reflect the characteristics of the region. As in the American Assembly report, the southern states are studied as a generalized group, and no individual state analysis is attempted. The Pacific Northwest Assembly, in addition to an introductory section on the Northwest states as a region, discusses each of the four states in the region. Here again is much the same refrain of state problems with their individual variations.

The findings of each of these five assemblies

evolved from three days of discussion of the research material and the live issues of state government. They do not purport to be unanimous in detail, but they are statements of general agreement and reflect the thinking of the widely varied participants.

Specific findings of the American Assembly are prefaced with this statement:

The central concern of this Assembly is the capacity of state governments to perform their appropriate functions responsibly, democratically, intelligently, and efficiently. . . . Some state governments are well geared to handle their responsibilities and have earned the confidence of their citizens; some have taken steps to qualify for confidence; but a large number are poorly prepared to meet the problems that press upon them. Unless these latter states make substantial improvement, they will not win the confidence of their citizens, and in the natural course of events power will gravitate to other levels that meet more nearly the standards of democratic and competent government. (p. 138)

In almost identical words the Southern Assembly and the California Assembly apply this concern to their situations.

Each assembly considers vitally important the policy making and legislation of the states. Here the issues touch one of the very fundamentals of democracy: representation in the legislature. The American Assembly states: "Most state legislatures do not accurately represent the people" and recommends ". . . that every state should constitutionally provide a sure method of compulsory reapportionment promptly after each census." (p. 139) However, the three Western Assemblies do not concur; each of them follows in principle the "federal plan" of population reapportionment in the House, but county or geographic area in the Senate. Some of the research reports raise the question of the unicameral legislature, but the findings do not pursue it. The usual details of legislative concern are listed in almost every one of the findings: compensation, staff assistance, procedural and organizational improvement, length and frequency of meetings.

On the question of political parties in state government affairs, the Northwest and New Mexico Assemblies agree with the principle stated in the American Assembly findings:

The effectiveness of state government is profoundly influenced by the character of its political party system. Strong, continuing parties in genuine competition for the voters' favor seem to us the clearest instruments for getting issues formulated, presented to the voters, adopted by the legislature, and responsibly executed by the governor. (p. 139)

However, the Southern Assembly and California reflect a different and a divided view typified in these words from California:

We have considered whether political parties should play a larger role than they have in California state government. We find that since the days of Hiram Johnson and until recently state government in California has been comparatively nonpartisan in character. We believe that the trend today is toward more partisanship in state government.

We have debated whether our state government would be strengthened if political parties were stronger and more disciplined. We are divided in opinion on this issue. A majority of us believe that stronger parties would create a risk of party bossism and would also deprive the people of the independent judgment of their elected representatives. Others of us believe that stronger and more disciplined parties would lead to more responsible state government because candidates would be elected on the strength of their party platforms rather than their personal popularity. (p. 60)

Discussion of the power and responsibility of the governor runs through both the research reports and findings. York Willbern poses as the major state administrative issue the integration of the state government under the governor. From the standpoint of the Little Hoover Commissions, management and public administration literature, and the findings of the American Assembly, this integration is apparently desirable. The findings from the Northwest Assembly consider structural weakness a more serious problem than administrative incompetence or mismanagement. They feel the governor should have executive and administrative power commensurate with his political responsibilities. All recognize the necessity for a merit system and for adequate professional staffs to undergird such an executive organization. The American Assembly recommends that the governor be the head of a unified administration with appointed heads of departments and agencies whose terms shall

coincide with his. The findings recognize under such a system of administration the possibility of an occasional weak or bad chief executive, but they feel this risk must be taken and that the people must then hold the governor responsible.

Two other problems are consistently mentioned in the findings: constitutional limitation and revision and fiscal control and policy. The question of intergovernmental relation is also listed in some of the findings as having had special attention in their discussions.

In addition to these items of general concern, numerous issues are included of special interest to particular states and regions. Probably none is so controversial as the race question, as its manifold implications pervaded the Southern Assembly. Yet throughout, the discussions proceeded in calm and deliberate fashion, culminating in this statement from the findings:

One of the most pressing problems of the South is race relations. This problem has important impacts on many phases of life in the Southern states, including government. Governments in the South have dealt with difficult problems before and undoubtedly have the ability to alleviate the present tensions. The Southern Assembly believes that state governments in the South should undertake by all means at their disposal to prevent violence and to maintain public order. The governor especially should set the tone of public discussion by an appeal for sober thought and action in problems of race relations. It is suggested that human relations commissions, both state and local, may be useful in studying facts and making policy recommendations. (p. 62)

The American Assembly closes its findings, as do some of the other assemblies by implication, with these words:

The Assembly has emphasized in these findings the importance of improvement in the machinery and operation of our state governments, but it also stresses the extreme importance of citizen interest and participation as the only final assurance of effective and responsive government. (p. 141)

Results from Assemblies

THUS far we have looked primarily at the reports and findings of the five assemblies; certainly these are meaningful documents. But

perhaps more significant, even to the eventual solution of state problems, is a less tangible result of these meetings.

In the first place, some 250 outstanding men and women were invited to interrupt their busy schedules in order to meet for the sharing of ideas about certain problems. The very invitation complimented each participant, and his advance preparation led him to expect a good experience. The planning, the conduct of the meetings, and the fellowship with outstanding colleagues formed a conducive climate marred neither by pressure groups nor by undue publicity. The discussions were free to be honest and open without fear of misinterpretation, and they continued informally long after the scheduled sessions.

In an attempt to evaluate and describe this significant by-product of these meetings, several participants were asked their reactions to the experience. Some acknowledged a quickened understanding of state government with the desire to involve themselves in it. One man said at the conference, "If this had happened to me thirty years ago it would have made a difference in my life and my concern and actions regarding my state."

Some felt they had truly witnessed democracy in action; i.e., ideas competing with one another in the framework of concern for a solution and for finding a common ground of understanding. This very achievement of a common ground was felt to be reassuring. One participant gave his personal observation as follows:

All learned something; some learned a great deal. Problems and issues that for many had been largely matters of conviction and prejudice became perplexities that had many sides and no simple answers. On the whole, the participants left the meeting with the understanding that solutions will come not so much by imposing one point of view upon all others, as by finding common grounds of accommodation upon which people of divergent viewpoints can live cooperatively. Particularly evident was the understanding that the person who thinks quite differently has sincere and defensible reasons for his beliefs, and that personally he is a pretty rational, well motivated and ethical individual. Altogether a good deal of sympathetic tolerance of differences emerged. Several of the conclusions adopted at the final session reflected the understanding that sensitive points

could be resolved only by moving to "middle ground" positions.

Obviously not all personal attitudes and convictions were changed by any means, nor did the participants depart to put new plans and policies into immediate action. It is interesting, however, that in at least two subsequent legislative sessions, actions or reports were either the same or similar to the findings of the assemblies. In some cases legislators had been members of an assembly. In some cases the reports and findings of an assembly were quoted in the legislature and the newspapers as support and authority. In addition, one follow-up meeting was reported by a women's organization; still another group has discussed the possibility of a state research organization. Possibly none of these could be claimed as specific results of the assemblies. Nor is it likely that any major influence upon public policy would be found from such meetings unless they were held over a substantial period of time.

Structure of State Government

I SHOULD like to lift out of these reports and the experience of one of the assemblies, as well as from some recent federal and state government experience, an approach to this whole question of the role and structure of the states. The idea of this approach is certainly not new, and it appears that today one can collect bits of evidence to indicate that we are moving in its direction, at least in some states, even though traditional doctrines of public administration and management are to the contrary. The approach is simply that, instead of looking to the federal government and the United States Constitution for patterns of organization and management, we should perhaps look to the local units of government for guidance.

Most of our states have followed the pattern of government set forth in the United States Constitution; most of the literature and research in public administration and management have been at the federal level with the federal experience applied to the states' situation. Obviously there are exceptions, but in the main stream of historical events in the founding of the states and subsequently, the

federal model has tended to dominate our thinking. Maybe our situation in mid-twentieth century has changed and, as we look ahead to even more rapid changes, we may need to question the efficacy of our present patterns.

One can demonstrate, for example, that today the citizen is as close to the statehouse as he was to the courthouse at the turn of the century; that many of the functions and services today rendered by a state are more nearly akin to those rendered by a city than to those performed by the federal government. If the citizen is as close as his telephone, radio, TV, and airplane to the state capitol, and if the state services are such things as roads, hospitals, police, and health, why not look to the changes in form, theory, and management efficiency of city government? Though it may be more parliamentary in form than our federal pattern, one would hardly claim city governments are less democratic than the federal government.

One need not look beyond these reports and findings of the assemblies to marshal evidence of a conflict of direction. The American Assembly, with an outstanding group of public administration people among the participants, recommends the strong executive and separation of powers doctrine, thereby following the federal pattern, the Little Hoover Commissions, and the position public administration and management have taken for nearly a quarter of a century. On the other hand, while California has undoubtedly one of the strongest chief executive positions and much work has gone into the governmental reforms of that state, yet even here real problems were reported in the lack of interest in this centralized responsibility on the part of the governor and the politically concerned. Most of the interest, it was reported, came from professional students of government. The findings of the Southern Assembly provide typical examples of the fact that so many give lip service to the principle of the strong executive but violate it in practice through accumulated exceptions. The southern findings are that independent boards and commissions are justified only when quasi-judicial powers are involved and "where public confidence and support can be

assured in no other way." (p. 61, italics added) In some states this latter exception has come to include practically every agency.

The question of the parliamentary possibilities for states and the problem of the doctrine of separation of powers has already been posed in a quotation in this review from Allan R. Richards. One need only look carefully at what is happening in the legislative service agencies to wonder if we may not be nearer the tools of the parliamentary system than we ordinarily suppose. Interim investigation committees, legislative councils, and other research groups certainly are moving in on state problems; some legislative budget boards and finance committees have gone so far as to present legislative budgets prepared as program judgments separate from the governor's budget. These steps taken by legislatures have generally been to strengthen their position with facts and information regarding their legislative jobs. However, some of their activities have become involved with areas we have considered executive in character—budget preparation, organization, management improvement, and so on. Probably the serious problem here is that although they become involved they actually have no administrative responsibility for the results of their action or influence. Here we see the movement toward a parliamentary type of legislative concern and reporting without corresponding responsibility. If these things are happening, surely we

should be aware of the fact and recognize that it is contrary to our theory, or recognize that our theory may be viewed in the light of new forces and situations that are making real progress in the direction of the strong state executive difficult.

It would be interesting to experiment with the parliamentary features of a city council-manager form or a strong mayor-council plan in connection with state government. Of course, there is considerable difference among the jobs of the various chief executives, yet the implications of such an approach might possibly justify another Assembly topic. Certainly it is at the heart of the problem of the states, and the unbiased thinking of political scientists could weigh its merits.

Everywhere we see evidence of new interest in state government on the part of foundations and research agencies, and individual scholars and organizations. This is indeed encouraging, and undoubtedly much good can come from the necessary study. As fine as it is, however, it is not enough; it still may take some real brainstorming and some further experiences such as participation in future assemblies to realize the democratic process of ideas freely competing and consensus eventually found on difficult state problems. Such an investment of thought, energy, and money would indeed be wise and fruitful if from it citizens become better informed and more vitally concerned about their states.

The Decision-Making Schema

By EDWARD C. BANFIELD, The University of Chicago

ADMINISTRATIVE BEHAVIOR; A STUDY OF DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES IN ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION, by Herbert A. Simon. Second Edition with New Introduction. The Macmillan Company, 1957. Pp. xlviii, 259. \$5.00.

IN HIS Introduction to the second edition of *Administrative Behavior*, Herbert A. Simon observes that he might claim some sort of prophetic gift in having incorporated in the title and subtitle three of the currently most fashionable words in social science—"behav-

ior," "decision-making," and "organization." It is because it deals with these fashionable themes in a fashionable way (if he were not so modest he might claim credit for making the fashion as well as for discerning it) that his book deserves reexamination after a decade. Except for the addition of the Introduction, the text is unchanged.

Simon's intention was to make a methodological contribution. There are, he said in the preface to the first edition, no "adequate

linguistic and conceptual tools for realistically and significantly describing even a simple administrative organization—describing it, that is, in a way that will provide the basis for scientific analysis of the effectiveness of its structure and operation." It was to supply this lack that *Administrative Behavior* was written, and it is with this in mind, of course, that it should be criticized.

In this review, Simon's main methodological points will be considered one by one. They are three.

1. The "principles" of the "usual" administrative theory (he refers especially to the work of Gulick and Urwick) are really "proverbs,"—for almost every principle one can find an equally plausible and acceptable contradictory principle. A real science of administration will avoid this fatal defect.

2. A proper science of administration must be based upon "operational" concepts; the creation of a suitable set of concepts is the first task of theory.

3. Decision-making is the appropriate conceptual scheme.

"Principles" Are "Proverbs"

SIMON is easily able to show that there are fundamental ambiguities in the "principles" of the usual administrative theory. Span of control should be narrow. But the number of organizational levels should be kept to a minimum. "Although the two principles of the pair will lead to exactly opposite organizational recommendations, there is nothing in the theory to indicate which is the proper one to apply." (p. 20)

The difficulty with the usual theory is, he says, that it treats as "principles of administration" what are really "criteria" for describing and diagnosing administrative situations.

To make them useful, some way must be found of weighing the advantages associated with one criterion with the incompatible advantages associated with the competing ones. To choose between the advantages of a narrow span of control on the one hand and those of a small number of levels of organization on the other, it is necessary to measure all advantages against the single criterion of efficiency. (p. 35)

This, Simon points out, is a matter for empirical research. The real shortcoming of the

usual theorists, then, is that they have not gone on to do the empirical research which would reveal the concrete circumstances in which the various criteria appropriately apply.

Clearly any theorist will produce "proverbs" unless and until empirical research is done to provide a basis for knowing which propositions to invoke in particular circumstances. (Simon himself is in no danger of producing proverbs, however, for he limits himself to the construction of a vocabulary and does not engage in theorizing; "no principles of administration are laid down," he says in the preface, using the word which caused Gulick and Urwick so much trouble.)

There are two "indispensable conditions" to the empirical research which is necessary to turn proverbs into scientific analysis:

First, it is necessary that the objectives of the administrative organization under study be defined in concrete terms so that results, expressed in terms of these objectives, may be accurately measured. Second, it is necessary that sufficient experimental control be exercised to make possible the isolation of the particular effect under study from other disturbing factors that might be operating on the organization at the same time. (p. 42)

In the literature of administration, Simon observes, only a handful of research studies, most of them on the periphery of organization, satisfy these fundamental conditions. In the field of public administration, almost the sole example is the series of studies that were conducted in the public welfare field to determine the proper case loads for social workers. (p. 43)

Simon does not consider *why* there is this extraordinary lack. One reason, perhaps, is that organizations—especially public ones—do not generally have ends which are concrete enough in content to provide an unambiguous criterion by which to choose among the competing advantages associated with the various diagnostic criteria. Sometimes it is hard to say whether a particular organization has any objective at all other than survival. Often organizational objectives exist only as vague generalities. As Simon himself observes (p. 5), "goals or final objectives of governmental organization and activity are usually formulated in very general and ambiguous terms—'justice,' 'the general welfare,' or 'liberty.'" Even in

those rare instances where objectives are highly concrete, there is not likely to be an ordering such that the researcher can know how much of one advantage the organization would willingly forego for the sake of gaining a certain amount of another advantage which is different in kind.

If the organization has no relevant objectives, or if its objectives conflict, obviously the researcher cannot weight his diagnostic criteria by them. He may, of course, ask the organization to accommodate him by clarifying its objectives or by thinking up new ones. He may even suggest to it some objectives which would help to produce a plausible research result without doing violence to such general ends as may already have been declared. This is not always possible, of course, for the researcher may not have the cooperation of the organization. And even when it is possible, it is not an altogether satisfactory solution to the problem, since it only shifts the burden of being arbitrary from the researcher to the organization itself.¹

Simon's other "indispensable condition" is hardly less unrealizable. Very rarely is it possible to isolate the particular effect under study from other, disturbing factors operating within the organization. One may approximate—but not achieve—"controlled" conditions in the study of case workers, a large

number of whom are performing essentially the same task under essentially similar conditions.² But one can do little or nothing to eliminate disturbing elements when one studies an operation which is not routine; here the "disturbing elements"—a certain personality, that an election is in the offing, and so on—are inseparable from the phenomenon under study.

If one cannot study important matters under controlled conditions, one must either seek out unimportant ones which can be scientifically studied or reconcile oneself to relying on common sense (meaning here judgment which does not rest entirely upon logical or nonarbitrary grounds).

The latter is, of course, what administrators do every day. The administrator who invokes the twin "proverbs" of span of control and level of organization, for example, considers as best he can how the various advantages associated with each appear in terms of the

¹ As an example of proper method, Simon cites a study by himself and others which sought to fix the optimum work load for professional staff in the California State Relief Administration. The relief agency had two conflicting aims: (a) to determine eligibility accurately, and (b) to keep down administrative expense. Somehow the relative importance of these objectives had to be fixed if Simon and his associates were to determine what case load was best. How was this weighting of objectives accomplished? "It was believed," the study says, "that an agency would not wish to carry the thoroughness of its investigations much beyond the point where prompt removal of ineligible would be more than balanced by the increased operating expense." In other words, the researchers imputed an objective to the organization. The imputation seems plausible. But might not a relief agency be willing to spend rather large sums to avoid declaring ineligible someone who was really eligible? How large? Doubtless the Internal Revenue Service would gladly spend more than would be recovered in order to catch tax criminals. See Simon et al., *Determining Work Loads for Professional Staff in a Public Welfare Agency* (Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley, 1941), p. 4.

² In the study of work loads which he cites as a model Simon and his associates tried hard to control the disturbing factors (*ibid.*, Chapter IV). It is obvious, however, that they did not succeed. The study was conducted "substantially in duplicate in two relatively dissimilar areas [of Los Angeles] in order to obtain some notion of the stability of results to be expected under different conditions of operation." (p. 3) But the situation in Northern California was certainly different from that in either of the Los Angeles districts; thus some disturbing factors were disregarded. Moreover, it was impossible to control the disturbing effect of events which were occurring while the study was in progress: the relief administration was in a political battle which resulted in personnel cuts. "These events," Simon wrote, "combined with a series of conflicts for control within the agency, created an atmosphere of uncertainty and apprehension that was noticeable throughout the experiment." (p. 65) The experiment itself was a disturbing factor, of course. "On February 13 a meeting of the Vernon intake workers revealed considerable dissatisfaction with the experiment. The workers were not able to adjust themselves to the different loads, and complained of the nervous reaction and strain from participation in the experiment." Workers in the other district, however, "appeared to enjoy the experiment, experienced no difficulty in adjustment, and felt under no nervous strain or tension." (pp. 65-66)

By use of statistical techniques (described in a footnote on page 40) Simon and associates satisfied themselves that they had "eliminated or at least minimized" the effects of these and other disturbing factors. They did not, at any rate, indicate any reservations as to the applicability of their study to the state as a whole or to a subsequent time.

vague objectives of his organization. In doing this he tries to abstract as well as he can from what he thinks are the disturbing factors in the situation. Simon tells him that he does not perform these operations with exactitude. But Simon does not recognize that, even if there were plenty of time and money, exactitude would be impossible except with regard to the least interesting matters.

So far the analysis of Simon's position has proceeded upon the basis of what was said in the first edition. In the Introduction to the new edition he seems to acknowledge some of these difficulties. With reference to the two "indispensable conditions" of empirical research he says:

I no longer believe that this passage [he refers to Chapter II, pp. 41-44] is a particularly good description of the kind of empirical research that is needed in administration. Organizations are complex structures, and the importance of any particular factor in the design of such a structure will depend on many circumstances. Hence we can hardly hope for a set of invariant "weights" to apply to the design problem. I expect that for a long time to come, research in administration will be more concerned with identifying and understanding the basic mechanisms that are present in systems of organizational behavior than with assigning numbers to designate the importance of these mechanisms. (p. xxxiv)

It is hard to judge how far this repudiation is intended to go. If it means that he no longer believes empirical research can yield a scientific basis for choice among competing diagnostic criteria ("proverbs"), one would expect him to acknowledge that much of his case against the usual theorists has disappeared. Apparently this is not the conclusion to be drawn, for the Introduction restates the case against the usual theorists ("Alas, the indictment stands." p. xiv) and even makes it stronger: the principles of the usual theorists, he now says, are "essentially useless."

The Basis of a Proper Science

ANOTHER fault Simon finds with the usual theory is that its terms are ambiguous. Before a science can develop principles, he says, it must possess concepts. The first task of administrative theory, accordingly, is to develop a set of concepts that will permit the descrip-

tion, in terms relevant to the theory, of administrative situations. To be scientifically useful, these must be operational; "that is, their meanings must correspond to empirically observable facts or situations." (p. 37)

This is, of course, a highly ambiguous explanation of the term "operational." But Simon illustrates his meaning with his concept of "authority." "Authority," he says, "may be defined as the power³ to make decisions which guide the actions of another." (p. 125) The advantage of this definition is that it is "in purely objective and behavioristic terms." As Simon says, "It involves behaviors on the part of both superior and subordinate. When, and only when, these behaviors occur does a relation of authority exist between the two persons involved. When the behaviors do not occur there is no authority, whatever may be the 'paper' theory of organization." (p. 125)

Two objections must be made to Simon's position. One is that narrowly behavioristic concepts are likely to obscure the making of the distinctions which it is the purpose of a good conceptual scheme to facilitate. The other is that, strictly speaking, such concepts are usually impossible. Both points may be illustrated with Simon's example.

One could not, on the basis of his definition, distinguish the "authority" of a stick-up man from that of a boss. In both cases the "subordinate" accepts the premises of the "superior" as the basis of his action. A scientific vocabulary should facilitate the making of analytically significant distinctions—in this case, distinctions referring to the circumstances which cause a subordinate to accept, or not accept, the premises of the other. Simon, however, unwilling to sacrifice his behavioristic view, defines the concept so as to dissolve the needed distinctions. One may, he says (p. xxxv), reconstitute them as needed under new terms. But although the purpose of his book is to construct a vocabulary for the description and analysis of administrative situations, Simon never does offer additional concepts by which to distinguish the authority of the stick-up man from that of the boss or the authority of one boss from that of another.

³On this and other pages he also defines it as a "relationship."

Despite the straining and the pretense, Simon's concept of authority is not really defined in "objective and behavioristic terms." It is not because it cannot be. If one merely observes the behavior, including the verbal behavior, of two persons, one cannot tell whether they are in what Simon calls a relationship of authority. One cannot find out if A is accepting the premises of B without getting knowledge of the subjective state of both A and B. Acting as if the other's premises are accepted is, of course, not what Simon defines as authority.

With the other key concepts in the "vocabulary" which it is the main purpose of his book to construct Simon has less trouble. The reason is that he does not attempt to define them behavioristically and does not note the most glaring ambiguities in them.

Take the concept "decision," for example. Simon says that any selection among action possibilities, whether conscious or unconscious, is a decision. (p. 4) Sleepwalkers, madmen, and newborn babes are, presumably, decision-makers. But what is an "action"? (Is not acting action also?) Abolishing a bureau is an action, but so are picking up a telephone, pressing a buzzer, and signing a letter, and an action of the first type is constituted of numberless actions of the second type. Most decisions in organizations, Simon says, are not made by any single individual; a major decision is "almost always a composite process" involving the interaction of many decisions both of individuals and by committees and boards. (p. 222) "Who *really* makes the decisions?" he asks rhetorically. "Such a question is meaningless," he answers, "—a complex decision is like a great river, drawing from its many tributaries the innumerable component premises of which it is constituted." (p. xii)

How, then, does one identify the object to be studied? One cannot always tell by observing an administrator, or even by asking him, whether he has made a decision (either in the sense of having made a choice personally or in the sense of having given formal recognition to the outcome of a "composite" choice). He may not himself know whether he has made a decision, especially if the "decision" has been not to decide.

The same sort of ambiguity exists with regard to other important concepts in Simon's scheme. What, precisely, is a "consequence"? (p. 66) (Was the industrial revolution a *consequence* of the Protestant reformation?) Is it possible to say that one decision is more nearly "rational" than another? Supposing, for example, that one decision is made after a careful consideration of alternative strategies but with little attention to the consequences which would follow from them? Is this decision more or less "rational" than one made with little consideration of alternative but a careful review of probable consequences? And if it is meaningless to say that one decision is more rational than another, how is the concept to be used?

With regard to all of those concepts one may paraphrase what Simon says of Gulick, "What is to be considered as a function [phenomenon] depends entirely upon language and techniques. If the English language has a comprehensive term which covers both of two sub-purposes [phenomena] it is natural to think of the two together as a single purpose [phenomenon]."⁴ The difference between them is that Gulick was trying to theorize about administration, not constructing "adequate linguistic and conceptual tools" for describing administrative organization "in a way that will provide the basis for scientific analysis. . . ." (p. xlv)

Decision-Making the Appropriate Concept

MUCH administrative analysis, Simon says, proceeds by selecting a single criterion (or "proverb") and applying it to an administrative situation to reach a recommendation, while the fact that equally valid, but contradictory, criteria exist which could be applied with equal reason, but with a different result, is conveniently ignored. "A valid approach . . ." he concludes, "requires that *all* the relevant diagnostic criteria be identified. . . ." (p. 36)

A good conceptual scheme, then, will tend to be logically complete or systematic, and will therefore direct attention to all relevant fea-

⁴ See William H. Riker, "Events and Situations," 54 *The Journal of Philosophy* 57-70 (January, 1957).

tures of the situation. A scheme built around the concept "decision" meets these specifications, Simon thinks. In fact, he implies, it is the *only* one which will. He writes,

What is a scientifically relevant description of an organization? It is a description that, so far as possible, designates for each person in the organization what decisions that person makes, and the influences to which he is subject in making each of these decisions. (p. 37)

The qualifier "in so far as possible" is very important, for, as noted, Simon believes major organizational decisions are composites and it is meaningless to ask who *really* makes them. Nevertheless, in so far as an empirical referent can be found for the concept "decision," it is this which should be the object of study.

The idea of identifying all relevant diagnostic criteria implies, of course, knowledge of some comprehensive criterion by which to judge what is relevant and what is not. Simon provides such a criterion in the principle (strictly speaking, it is a definition) of "efficiency." "The theory of administration," he says in the first edition, "is concerned with how an organization should be constructed and operated in order to accomplish its work efficiently." (p. 38) Efficiency (which he elaborates in Chapter IX) is therefore the nuclear concept around which others are organized and which gives them their relevance and systematic character.

Decisions which are rational are more likely to lead to efficiency than ones which are not. Thus "rationality" (which he discusses in Chapters IV and V) becomes another organizing category with the help of which one can discover what diagnostic criteria are, or are not, relevant. It turns out, then, that what is needed is a full account of the influences which tend to make the decision-makers more or less rational; knowing these, the organization can manipulate itself by manipulating them—it can alter influences so as to make decisions more rational and outcomes more efficient. Thus the construction of an efficient organization is "a problem in social psychology" (p. 2)—a particularly interesting problem, Simon might have added, because the organization itself is both "psychologist" and "society."

Although it is certainly not the *only* useful conceptual scheme and for some purposes may even lead the investigator away from the things which are most interesting, and although its concepts are not as "operational" as one might wish, the decision-making scheme unquestionably has a great deal of the merit claimed for it. If it does not identify *all* of the relevant diagnostic criteria, it at least identifies many.

It has one serious defect however. As was remarked above, organizations do not generally have concrete, consistently ordered objectives. To the extent that their ends are vague or inconsistent, the idea of efficiency is inapplicable. Efficiency refers to a relation between valued inputs and valued outputs. If there is no way of knowing what is valued, or how much it is valued in relation to something else, one cannot speak of efficiency. And if it is not possible to say what is for the organization an efficient situation, it is not possible either to say what are for it rational decisions.

In his introduction to the new edition, Simon takes some account of these problems. He has come to the conclusion that it is utterly unreal to regard men in organizations as engaged in "maximizing"—what they really do is look for a situation which is satisfactory or "good enough." Whereas in the first edition "administrative man" was a "maximizer" (p. 39), in the introduction to the second (but not, of course, in the body of the book, that being unchanged) he is a "satisficer." (p. xxvi)

Simon justifies this change on the grounds that the "satisficing" model is a "correct" description whereas the other was not. Here he seems to forget that the concepts of efficiency and rationality were not put forward simply as "sociological" descriptions of the behavior of men in organized groups; they were also intended, as he explained in an appendix (p. 253), as the basis of a "practical" (recommendative) science of administration—one that would describe "good" administration, i.e. how men would behave "if they wished their activity to result in the greatest attainment of administrative objectives with scarce means." He may now feel that the concepts efficiency and rationality are too unrealistic to be useful even as guides to a "practical" science of

administration. He does not, however, say this in so many words.

He cannot argue that the new "satisficing" model takes the place of the old "maximizing" one in a "practical" (as distinguished from a "sociological") science of administration. For the "satisficing" model, if he is correct, tells us how men actually do behave in organizations, not how they would behave "if [not an utterly unrealistic assumption, surely] they wished their activity to result in the greatest attainment of administrative objectives with scarce means." Presumably the model appropriate for a "practical" science of administration is somewhere between the merely descriptive "satisficing" one and the not-descriptive-enough "maximizing" one.

Of these important matters Simon in the Introduction to the new edition says nothing. Instead he ceases to concern himself with what he called the "practical" science of administration, i.e. "good" administration. In the first edition, the theory of administration "is concerned with how an organization should be constructed and operated in order to accomplish its work efficiently" (p. 38) and the principle of efficiency "follows almost immediately from the rational character of 'good' administration." (p. 39) In the Introduction, however, "Administrative theory is peculiarly the theory of intended and bounded rationality—of the behavior of human beings who *satisfice* because they have not the wits to *maximize*." (p. xxiv)

He has destroyed the rationale of the old conceptual scheme without offering any new one and without, apparently, being aware of what he has done.⁵ A valid approach, he said, requires that all relevant diagnostic criteria be identified. But now, so far as "good" administration is concerned, he has no basis for judging what criteria are relevant and what are not.

⁵ He says in the Introduction that he has "few, if any, major changes to propose in the fundamental conceptual framework." But he appears reluctant to acknowledge changes when he sees them. He says, for example (p. xxxii), that he always regarded the "premise" as the appropriate unit for analysis. He did make much use of the concept in the first edition, to be sure, but it was "decision," not "premise," which he presented as the basic building block of theory. The word "premise" did not even appear in the index.

An Evaluation

IT MAY be asked, in the words Simon used of the usual theory, "Can anything be salvaged which will be useful in the construction of an administrative theory?" The answer, too, may be given in his words: "As a matter of fact, almost everything can be salvaged."

Simon is right in asserting that the "principles" of administrative theory are really "diagnostic criteria" and that empirical research must be done before they can be applied in particular situations. He is wrong, however, in implying that the "usual" theory is peculiarly defective in this regard. The principles of any theory including Simon's own (if he were to get beyond the stage of vocabulary construction) are diagnostic criteria or, to use the attention-getting word, "proverbs." They are "essentially useless," however, only if no empirical basis is found for deciding which of them to invoke.

Simon is right in asserting that *as a matter of logic* empirical research should accurately measure results in terms of organizational objectives defined in concrete terms and the particular effects under observation should be isolated from disturbing factors. But he is wrong in supposing that either of these conditions can be met to a significant extent in the ordinary, and especially the important, cases. It is useful to have the logic of the matter clarified. But unless this clarification is accompanied by a frank avowal that the logic may be irrelevant to the real situation and unless directions are given as to how to proceed when the logical way is closed, the researcher is left in a quandary. He may keep himself methodologically pure by studying only those matters to which the logic has some application. Unfortunately, these are not the important ones.

Simon is right in demanding that terms be unambiguously defined. But here, too, he is wrong in supposing that methodological refinement can be had without cost. Some concepts crucial to the discussion of behavior cannot be defined "behavioristically" without ceasing to refer to what it is crucial to discuss. "Authority" is a good example; if Simon had succeeded in defining it behavioristically, it would only have been by extracting from it

all of the meaning that it is useful for it to have. Fortunately he does not deal with the ambiguities in "decision" and related concepts. These are serious enough to impede the thoughtful researcher, but there is reason to fear that if he had applied himself to resolving them his conceptual scheme would have been cut loose from reality. Conceptual clarity, like other virtues, can be carried too far for this world.

Simon is right, also, in claiming relevance and completeness for the rational decision-making schema. It is not the only good schema and it is not a particularly new one.⁶ But it is a good one or, rather, it would be a good one if the concept "decision" were defined so as to exclude outcomes that are not in any sense the product of deliberation—a condition Simon

would surely reject. It is too bad that Simon kicked the props out from under the decision-making schema by discovering that administrative man, instead of seeking a maximum, seeks only what is "good enough." If efficiency and rationality, or some approximation thereto, are not to be looked for, what model of "good" administration is to be put in their place?

"My present forecast—and a rather confident one," Simon says in the Introduction to the new edition, "is that when a second decade has passed this book will sound a bit old-fashioned." (p. ix) Let us hope not, for the fashion seems to be moving in the wrong direction. *Administrative Behavior*, at any rate, was a better book ten years ago than it is now.

P I & E

The first item of business today is to compare two "administrative novels" that are certainly likely to prove (although for different reasons) Provocative, Informative, and Enjoyable to readers of this journal. As we learn more about the complex and subtle forces that affect public administration, we increasingly despair of ever being able to describe completely and with proper simultaneity what goes on in a government office and why. Only the novelist, we now tend to say, can depict all the institutional, social, human, and accidental factors and the ways in which they delicately interweave to form that intricate fabric of "real life" administration that covers naked individual drives with organizational cloth—cloth that sometimes ennobles, sometimes demeans; sometimes warms, sometimes chafes; sometimes corsets, sometimes chokes.

However formidable this assignment appears to persons in public administration, it is not daunting the novelists who, in this decade, are turning out a mounting volume of fiction describing all varieties of administrative and bureaucratic life, reflecting, no

doubt, the increase in the proportion of Americans who are now subject in one way or another to the forces that operate in large organizations. Whatever the reasons, the general public seems to have a thirst for these administrative novels, and by and large they sell well. They are helping to shape the public conception of government operations. Despite this fact, scholars and officials in the field of public administration seem to react to the appearance of new novels about administration with simple gratefulness, admiring the literary man who has the courage to attempt to describe in full fidelity the complexities and nuances of administrative life. We tend to acclaim them for the insights they afford us, uncritically ignoring the fact that some are quite meretricious and some, judged by either professional or literary standards, are downright trashy.

Apart from the fact that they feel that they themselves could not do it better, there is an additional reason why people in our field tend to be uncritical of administrative novelists. The administrator by habit emphasizes and respects the unique elements in a situation. He knows that there are usually enough similarities in administrative problems in different fields to make an experienced official

⁶ Cf. Sir George Lewis, *A Treatise on the Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics*, London, 1852, especially Vol. II.

more valuable than an inexperienced one (and to give officials some common ground to talk about at professional meetings). But the middle- or higher-level administrator knows that although there are similarities to government bureaucratic life wherever it exists, any administrative situation worthy of attention above the clerical level contains, palpably or contingently, a good many unique or "one-shot" factors. Translating this outlook to the administrative novels, the official can easily accept any novel about government administration, no matter how bizarre it seems, for even if the novel doesn't quite ring true in terms of his own experience, he is prepared to admit that the unique situation it describes may conceivably be characteristic of someone else's organization.



The two novels on today's agenda are written about quite similar organizations and about quite similar kinds of officials in these organizations. But they vary enormously in quality and in the amount of pleasure, irritation, amusement, and insight they afford the reader. They both portray many of the pathologies and meannesses of life in a government agency (actually both are military agencies). But the aim of one author is to present conscientiously and artistically a picture of the strains of administrative life in a way that enables us to *understand* why these meannesses and pathological practices exist and to sympathize with the persons infected with them because we sense this might happen to us as well. This volume is James Gould Cozzens' 1949 Pulitzer Prize winning novel, *Guard of Honor* (Longmans). The aim of the second author—he is Leonard Drohan and his new book is *Come with Me to Macedonia* (Knopf: 1957)—seems to be to vent his anger at the pointlessness, pettiness, and clumsiness of bureaucratic life as lived by Army and civilian officials in a regional procurement center of the Army during the Korean conflict. He does this sometimes by ridicule (intended apparently for satire) and sometimes by putting harsh words or deeds on his characters.

Mr. Drohan presents a very readable and brutal account of the worst aspects of the worst military and bureaucratic vices: the triumph of routine and form-filling over pur-

pose; the petty in-fighting; the stultification of courage and humanity by administrative routine, and so on. His angry description of some of the futility and sabotage inflicted on action programs by staff officials and by management specialists anxious to justify their existence and to magnify their grandeur is just the sort of thing many of us would like to write in the moment of livid anger when some apparently inane accountability procedure obstructs us from getting on with a pressing job. Yet it is not a good novel, even though it is entertaining. It is not even honest satire because the author, apparently deliberately, refrains from showing why these things happen. He stacks the deck by manipulating his characters and his situations so that they become merely the tools of his desire to make his point.

The dust jacket reports that Drohan did graduate work at Syracuse and has spent most of his time since in government service. His purpose in producing this novel, apart from winning the prizes that accrue to those who write the sensational pieces of fiction that capture large markets, is apparently to indict government service and to atone for the many years that he allowed himself to remain in it. The aim is to score off the organization and the people portrayed; to get the quick laugh; to hammer home the point that bureaucracy at the middle and lower levels is mean, uncreative, time serving, degrading, and the proper subject of ridicule. The novel is a damning indictment of government service, but not in the manner the author intended. Assuming that the author was talented as a young man, his government service has, to judge by this volume, made him petty; unsubtle; unable or unwilling to look below the surface of events; and so eager to amuse the public (presumably so that he may remain away from his former stultifying government employment) that he is willing to pass off a glossy and sexy account of agency life for the whole—and admittedly often unpleasant—truth.



The shallowness of Mr. Drohan's novel is most apparent when it is compared with Cozzens' remarkable *Guard of Honor*, an account of three days in the lives of the top administrators (and their families) of an Air

Training and Research Base in Florida. In two or three downright masterly chapters, Mr. Cozzens has created the whole network of relationships, traditions, problems, and strains that the commanders of the base have to deal with. And he has created characters that have an independent life and are not stock types or contrived puppets of the author's prejudices. Because they have life, one sympathizes with them however poorly they perform. Unlike the comic characters of Drohan's novel, they are none of them made deliberately evil, so their faults and inadequacies seem even more maddening and tragic to the reader.

The qualities that make Mr. Drohan's novel an emotional indulgence and Mr. Cozzens' novel an insightful and compassionate experience are suggested by comparing their lines on similar themes. First Drohan:

You Government workers deteriorate year by year, becoming a little less competent, a little slower, a little more timorous of making decisions, a little less efficient—and I think that a lot of it is the association with the military. The two combined are deadly—Civil Service and the Army. (p. 60)

Steve Trask's resistance was spasmodic and he was more and more inclined to go along with Dawson's views. This was understandable, for Steve was past the age of 35, had more than 15 years of Government service, and was married; and these three qualities, Humphrey believed, hastened the development of Civil Service atrophy. It was only a question of time . . . before the drive of youth . . . and early manhood succumbed to the circumstances, and there was nothing left but far-off retirement. . . . (page 262)

Now Cozzens:

Colonel Ross [the Base Inspector General, a judge in civilian life], for whom Colonel Mowbray [the Executive Officer] made more trouble than anyone else, and who might properly, in the line of his own duty, have felt it incumbent on him to censure Colonel Mowbray's ineffective work, and to recommend his immediate removal, never thought of doing such a thing. Twenty years ago, Colonel Ross dared say, it would have been his first thought; and (not without a certain rigid pleasure in seeing duty clearly; and, every other consideration put aside, doing it quickly) he would act—hew to the line, and let the chips fall where they may!

Colonel Ross was not sure whether today's dif-

ferent attitude came from being twenty years wiser or just twenty years older. He had, of course, more knowledge of what happens in the long run, of complicated effects from simple causes, of one thing stubbornly leading to another. Experience had been continuously busy rooting out vestiges of youth's dear and heady hope . . . that the end will at last justify any means. . . . It took time to see that when you got to your end, all the means to it must be inherent there. . . . Increased prudence, sagacious long-term views, would save a man from many mistakes. . . . It was a pity that the counsels of wisdom always and so obviously recommend the course to which an old man's lower spirits and failing forces inclined him anyway.

. . . firing Colonel Mowbray must, in the circumstances, promote not administrative efficiency, but confusion, ill-feeling, and crippling uncertainties to plague the whole organization while a new man was being found, while he acquainted himself with the job, while he was allowed some weeks' fair chance to show whether the people who said he would be good were right or wrong. The alternative was already to hand. As long as Colonel Mowbray did not insist on doing his own work, they could make out. Colonel Ross had only to feel it incumbent on him to do some extra work. (pp. 50-52)

The Cozzens' work will repay reading and rereading. Many in the public administration field would give an arm to be able to set down as clearly as he does in his early chapters all the complexities, the simultaneities, and the subtleties in the pattern of administrative strain and crisis that entitle this book to become a classic in our field. Mr. Drohan's novel is good for seeing the Army and the management boys take their licks, if that gives you pleasure, and for some quick laughs. It would be unfortunate, but a testimony to the wide validity of Gresham's Law, if over the years more people read *Come With Me to Macedonia* than *Guard of Honor*.



LAURIN HENRY (The Brookings Institution) calls our attention to an article by R. H. Pear of the University of London in the British journal, 28 *Political Quarterly* 5, (January-March, 1957) entitled "The American Presidency under Eisenhower." We quote:

From the British perspective, Mr. Pear describes Eisenhower's innovations in the management of the Presidency and comments

on the implications for the perennial American debate: the "constitutional" versus the "leader" theory of the presidency, which "goes to the root of political values."

With some exceptions, "... the idea of the 'constitutional' President appeals to the conservative mind, while the 'stewardship' or leader theory is the theme of the progressives. . . . One of the difficulties for the conservatives has been to discover a great President who was not a politically active leader. . . . The task has not been easy; Washington was a little remote, but now there is Eisenhower."

"Both the President's Committee on Administrative Management and the Hoover Commission drew attention to the burdens of the presidency, and both assumed that because the constitution puts the executive power in one man, that chief executive must be helped . . . by devices rather than by other men." Thus pre-Eisenhower developments increased the assistance available to the President but stopped short of actual sharing out of his responsibilities. Truman's belief "... that in the American system a President simply cannot, either constitutionally or morally, delegate his powers or share his burdens with his Cabinet colleagues," was the prevailing view.

In Eisenhower, belief in the "constitutional" Presidency and concern for smooth administration have converged. "Eisenhower has succeeded in putting himself above politics . . . by making . . . successful arrangements both from his own, non-political standpoint, and from the point of view of administrative efficiency." "The core of the Eisenhower reforms is the Cabinet . . . [which] he has made . . . work hard and effectively, to a definite schedule, and as a team." "He has introduced from Army procedure the staff system. . . . The general must be left to consider the major strategy of the political battle—or more likely to brood on how to avoid battle—while the utmost height to which a routine political or administrative matter can rise is to the level of the President's Assistant."

"It can hardly be disputed that some such reorganization of the presidential office was long overdue. . . . The most important new features which could be carried over into

future administrations seem to be those concerning the role of Assistant to the President, the secretary to the Cabinet, the orderly procedure of regular Cabinet meetings, and the follow-up to the departments. These could be carried over because they seem in themselves so obviously desirable and workable. Of the continued solidarity and corporate feeling of future American cabinets one cannot feel so certain." Much of the success of the present arrangements rests upon the unique personality and status of Eisenhower. Uncertainties of the political future suggest that "... it might be rash to assume that the golden age of presidential inactivity has now arrived."

□

PAUL TILLET (Rutgers University) recommends a new paper-back edition of Dostoevsky's *The House of the Dead* (Grove Press, \$1.45). We quote:

The benevolent despotism of democracy has spared us tyranny, but it has also deprived our literature of bracing contributions from behind prison walls. Dostoevsky, in 1849, from a last-minute reprieve before a firing squad, went in chains to Siberia for four years. This report on his experience, in the guise of the journal of a murderer, is dispassionate, almost clinical. Chapter I says all that needs to be said to condemn or praise the folly of prisons as instruments of reformation. This pseudo-journal is clearly the basis of Dostoevsky's later work and bespeaks his "preoccupation with the human soul in torment."

□

The greatest book bargain in the field of public administration is the American Assembly's study (available on request at no charge), *The Federal Government Service*, prepared in 1954 under the direction of Wallace Sayre with excellent pieces by Herbert Kaufman (History of Its Growth), Herman Somers (The President, the Congress, and the Federal Service), Harvey Mansfield (Parties, Patronage, and the Federal Service), Frederick and Edith Mosher (Merit System, Veteran's Preference and Employee Organization) and Everett Reimer (Career Systems). It remains a remarkably concise and informative introduction to the fundamental problems of the federal service.

—E.A.B.

Research Notes

Compiled by JOHN C. HONEY

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Delaware River Basin Organization Study

The Delaware River Basin Advisory Committee, composed of the Governors of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware and the mayors of New York City and Philadelphia, through an associated institution, Delaware River Basin Research, Inc., is undertaking to recommend an organizational structure for the conservation, control, and use of the water resources of the Delaware Basin. A grant to Delaware River Basin Research, Inc. from the Ford Foundation is supporting the background research, which is largely centered in The Maxwell School, Syracuse University. Professor Roscoe Martin is the project director at Syracuse; Professor Guthrie Birkhead is associate director. Two other professors affiliated with the project as research associates are Jesse Burkhead and Frank J. Munger.

The need for the study has emerged from the fact that the United States Army Corps of Engineers is now preparing for transmittal to Congress a plan for the conservation, control, and use of the water resources of the Delaware River. This physical plan will specify the location, preliminary design, estimated costs, and potential benefits of an integrated set of structures and program for the Delaware. But it will not cover organization for execution of the program.

The organizational study will first review the problem area from such points of view as the legal basis of water use in the Basin states; the economic structure of the area; and

the governmental agencies and governments currently or potentially concerned with Basin water and allied resources. It will then examine, for comparative purposes, valley development experience in other parts of the United States. Out of this background two sets of criteria will be prepared, one for judging the suitability of a Basin plan and another for evaluating an organization to administer Basin water resources.

The functions of a new water agency will be considered, taking into account responsibilities that will arise from the plan of the Corps of Engineers and others that can logically be identified. The participating elements in a new organization and the various legal and organizational forms that a new agency could assume will be examined.

A separate but integral aspect of the study will be a thorough examination of the whole problem of financing, including, among others, such subjects as the potential sources of finance for a Basin organization, existing water rate structures in the Delaware Basin, and specific proposals for financial administration and controls in a new organization.

Finally, the problems of implementation will be studied in order to define the limits of political feasibility within which alternative structural and policy recommendations may be chosen, and, second, to suggest a procedure and form for submission of the selected plans.

The project is expected to terminate in September, 1959.

Enlarged ICP Research Program

The Inter-University Case Program is embarking on an expanded five-year program of research in public administration designed to enlarge significantly the contribution of the case method to the teaching, study, and practice of the governmental process. With the aid of a recent grant from the Ford Foundation, the ICP plans a vigorous development along five broad lines of activity which represent a combination of new and earlier goals.

1. *Clusters of Case Studies Illuminating Key Problem Areas of Government Administration.* A cluster will consist of a group of four to eight case studies designed (a) to present a representative spread of conditions in a particular problem area; and (b) to be sufficiently similar in focus to encourage comparative analysis. Each cluster is being developed and supervised by a separate subcommittee of the ICP Board. In several of the clusters, the subcommittee is being aided by teachers of law, economics, and other disciplines, many of whose students ultimately play major roles in government. The following five cluster areas have thus far been defined and are being explored for case production.

a. *Administration and the regulatory process.* This area has been selected because, while it is one of the most significant aspects of government administration, there is an acute shortage of teaching materials that illustrate the complex forces (interest group, congressional, inter- and intra-agency) and negotiations that underlie the making of regulatory decisions by state and federal agencies. Furthermore, cases in this cluster will illustrate a role of the lawyer in the administrative process that has not been intimately described in either the literature of public administration or the literature available to teachers and students of law. To lay bare the internal and external relationships of regulatory agencies and government departments in formal adjudications, rule-making, and the formulation of informal advisory opinions will require a relatively large number of cases. Professor Emmette Redford of the University of Texas is chairman of the regulatory process subcommittee.

b. *Administration of overseas missions.* The

administration of overseas missions is one of the most rapidly expanding and least illuminated areas of public administration. Although this expansion is most notable in the field of technical assistance, a growing number of federal agencies now maintain overseas units. Production of this cluster would concentrate on two aspects of overseas administration: (1) the relationships between the overseas unit and other units of its own government at home or in the same foreign country; (2) the relationships between the overseas unit and foreign officials and agencies.

The cases would aim, also, to throw light on the manner in which the overseas administrator seeks to resolve the pressures and instructions from his parent agency with the particular social and political conditions in the foreign country in which he is operating. Cases of this nature are greatly needed for graduate teaching in public administration and by teachers in related fields which figure prominently in technical assistance; by government agencies; and by private bodies that work closely with foreign governments. The shortage of training and backstopping materials to prepare the growing number of overseas administrators is quite acute. Professor Rowland Egger of the University of Virginia is chairman of the overseas operations subcommittee.

c. *Budgeting as policy-making.* The need, here, is for studies that examine intimately the process of budgetary administration as a key phase of executive policy-making. This cluster will seek to illustrate the special role and outlook that the budget director or the budget office brings to the policy-making process in a representative government and the manner in which different budget offices work with chief executives, department heads, and legislatures. Professor Frederick C. Mosher of Syracuse University is chairman of the budgeting subcommittee.

d. *Executive appointments.* The strategy and tactics, the administrative and political aspects of the process by which chief executives and city managers appoint and deploy key department heads and assistants is another significant area of government administration that has had little intimate, systematic exploration. The making of appointments is in

a sense the primary means available to the chief executive or city manager for shaping the policy-making process and for securing administrative effectiveness. This cluster is being developed in collaboration with practitioners and with the aid of the International City Managers' Association. Professor Wallace Sayre of Columbia University is chairman of the executive leadership subcommittee.

e. *Planning and urban development.* There is a critical need for case materials that will help students of regional planning and urban redevelopment understand the complex forces to which officials working in these fields are frequently subjected. The cases in this cluster, which will concentrate on the role of the planning official in evoking communitywide participation in the planning process, in merging successfully the various specialist considerations that go into a long-range plan, and in reconciling short- and long-run interests, are expected to be of use in planning courses. The American Institute of Planners and the American Society of Planning Officials are cooperating in the development of this cluster. Professor York Willbern of the University of Indiana is chairman of the planning subcommittee.

2. *An Exploratory Effort in Foreign Cases.* A program to foster the production of case studies describing the administration of foreign governments is being planned. It is expected to yield many benefits—through adding to the body of materials available for studies of comparative administration and comparative government, through fostering the development of indigenous case-writing programs in foreign countries; through increasing the supply of backstopping materials that will aid administrators of the U.S. and UN technical assistance projects and others dealing with overseas administration; and through facilitating international communication among public administrators, social scientists, and others concerned with government by exchange of case materials and by discussions of concrete case situations.

3. *Experimental Cases in the Legislative Process.* There is a need for accurate, balanced, insightful accounts that show the workings of Congress in terms of its broad policy responsibilities. Such cases will present a chal-

lenge. Writers will not be able to check interview data against the files of interoffice memorandums that are frequently available in writing about the operations of the executive branch; nor is it certain at this time that the focus on decision-making, which has characterized many of the administrative cases, will prove to be a workable narrative focus for the legislative cases.

4. *Continued Production of Individual Cases.* The ICP will continue the preparation of individual cases with two purposes in mind: (a) to provide case materials that will improve the teaching of the first-year course in American government; and (b) to take advantage of promising opportunities and to experiment with new forms of case writing. Professor Oliver Garceau of Bennington College is chairman of the subcommittee on first-year course cases.

5. *Stimulating University Case Production.* The imbalance between the growing demand for cases in public administration and the scant supply can be met, in the long run, only by a full and continuous case-writing effort based on the acceptance, by scholars and teachers, of the case study as a form of academic writing. Such acceptance will be furthered by the four measures just summarized. In addition, ICP intends to stimulate case-writing through (a) bringing the elements of the art of case-writing more clearly to the attention of scholars and practitioners; (b) fostering experimentation with the use of the case method in research projects of various kinds; and (c) aiding in the improvement of case teaching techniques.

Further information on ICP's plans may be obtained from Edwin A. Bock, Staff Director, 45 East 65th Street, New York 21, New York.

Research at Thammasat University

The Institute of Public Administration, University of Thammasat, Thailand (established under the ICA-sponsored contract between the University and Indiana University) includes, among a wide range of training and informational activities, a program of research and reference service.

Among the projects completed or nearing completion are: (1) A Government Organiza-

tion Manual to be published in both Thai and English and periodically revised; (2) A Survey of Background Factors in Economic Development, being prepared as part of a general economic survey; (3) Local Government Surveys: a report on the basic organization of local government in Thailand. This report, by John M. Ryan of Indiana University, will form part of a forthcoming publication on comparative local government of the International Union of Local Authorities. A survey of municipal administration in Bangkok has also been completed and parallel research on municipal administration throughout Thailand has been undertaken. A study of district administration, undertaken by Roderick J. Horrigan, has been expanded into a survey of all territorial administration. Thai officials and U.S. technical assistance personnel have already used data collected in this study in connection with plans for initiating a community development program; and (4) Public Social Welfare Services in Thailand: a survey of welfare functions and methods by Walter Johnson and Virginia White, Fulbright lecturer, that has involved extensive visiting and observation of government institutions.

Work in progress at the Institute includes: (1) Studies in Administrative Organization and Management: Two descriptive studies of national administration. A survey of the organization and management of government-owned enterprises, undertaken by Daniel C. Wit, is concerned mainly with the structure, financing, staffing, and policy direction of the large number of government enterprises. Edgar L. Shor has begun work on a study of administrative control and responsibility that examines the standards and methods of formal and informal accountability of government officials in Thailand; (2) Basic Reference Projects: The research staff has begun work on a bibliography of government publications, a compilation of basic statistics on governmental administration, and a Thai-English glossary of public administration and social science terminology; and (3) Research Resource Development: During the past six months the Institute's research resources have been enlarged by library purchases and by acquisition of various materials relating to gov-

ernment and administration in Thailand. Documents have been received from government agencies and from the United States Operations Mission. Microfilming possibilities are being explored. Work has begun on use of the Human Relations Area Files coding and cross-index system for research notes with a view to broadening the utilization of individually collected data.

The agenda of the Institute's Research Division includes the development of training and promotional activities designed to stimulate a wider research orientation and interest within the government. The possibility of incorporating research instruction in the in-service training program is being explored. The Institute expects to extend assistance to several nongovernment-sponsored research undertakings scheduled to begin in from four to six months. The division is also cooperating with the Social Science Research Association of Thailand in preliminary planning for the development of an extensive program of academic research training sponsored by the association.

Municipal Union Dues Checkoff

A study of the checkoff of union dues in municipal government, including a comparison with private industry, was recently completed by the New York City Department of Labor, to determine the extent to which the practice exists in municipal government and to gain information on certain aspects of its operation. Only those employees directly employed by municipal governments and paid through regular municipal payrolls were included.

All cities with a population of 25,000 persons or more were queried in the survey; 322, or approximately three-fifths of the total, responded. Of 272 cities reporting employee unions, 74 (including New York) reported that they had a checkoff.

The checkoff arrangement was most frequently found among the largest cities reporting, with the relative frequency declining with the size of cities. Typically, the checkoff had been established through a bilateral agreement, under a state or local law, or by resolution of the local legislative body or local

executive official. It was open to all unions representing municipal employees, provided the employees gave their consent. Generally, the cities made no charge to the unions for checkoff services.

The average checkoff system serviced anywhere from 25 to 250 employees, primarily blue-collar workers. In about half the cities uniformed employees and white-collar workers were also covered.

The most marked difference observed between public and private employment was that in public employment the checkoff was generally accorded to one or more unions on a nonexclusive basis regardless of whether a collective bargaining relationship existed between one of them and the municipality; in private industry it was found as part of an exclusive bargaining arrangement. This and other differences in the nature of the private and municipal checkoff stemmed from differences in the political and legal forces bearing on the public and private areas as well as from differing internal structures.

Although the checkoff of municipal union dues in the United States is at least a quarter of a century old, it has had its main growth since 1950. Indications are that this growth will continue as union membership among municipal employees increases and as the checkoff gains the acceptance in public service labor-management relations that it has in private industry.

Results of the survey have been incorporated in a report by Sidney W. Salsburg, *The Check-Off of Union Dues in Municipal Government*, published as one of a series of studies in municipal labor relations, by the Department of Labor, 93 Worth Street, New York 13, New York.

Charity Registration Program of New York State

New York State is evaluating its program of registration and financial reporting by charitable organizations soliciting contributions in the state. Under a Charities Registration Law, in effect since September 1, 1954, over 3,200

charities have registered with the New York State Department of Social Welfare. This excludes those religious and other organizations that are exempt under the law. The registered charities alone raise over \$500,000,000 annually.

The Charities Registration Bureau of the Department of Social Welfare must see that all charitable organizations, not specifically exempted, register and file an annual financial report with the Bureau. More importantly, it disseminates this information to the public, so that contributors can allocate their charitable donations more intelligently.

To further these objectives, the bureau is compiling a statistical report on registered charities. The study is being conducted by Joseph W. Thorpe, an economist, and Bernard Perlman, head of the bureau. The report will classify the organizations by purpose and will analyze these groups to show the following data:

1. Fund-raising costs as a percentage of gross receipts from solicitations. This information is, of course, subject to many qualifications, yet it gives the contributor at least a general idea of how much of his dollar is going for the purpose intended.
2. The relationship of income from investments and services to total income, which will indicate the organization's dependence upon contributions and, to some degree, its financial stability.
3. The types of organizations that employ professional fund raisers. These will be compared to organizations that do not use professional fund raisers in respect to fund-raising costs.
4. Gross contributed income, which will highlight the types of organizations that are the most successful fund raisers.
5. Sources of total income, segregated by categories.

The broad objective of the study is to provide the public with at least a general criterion for gauging the operations of charitable groups. It is hoped that an informed public will effectively regulate the charities by exercising discretion in its contributions and thereby support the useful work done by most of the charitable organizations.

Contemporary Topics

Compiled by WILLIAM B. SHORE

Staff Officer

American Society for Public Administration

Expanded Functions for Federal Regional Councils Urged

Increasing decentralization of responsibility to federal field officers and the growing need to coordinate federal programs with state and local government action require active organizations of federal agencies in regional centers. The few existing regional federal councils are not being used for these important purposes, last year's chairman of the Chicago Regional Council of Federal Agencies argued in his annual report. There are not enough federal agencies taking part in the councils and the activities of the councils are more limited than their opportunities make possible, Melville H. Hosch, regional director, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, stated.

Increasing decentralization of decision-making requires increased coordination on a regional level in place of the former emphasis on "policy guidance" from Washington, he noted. The rapid expansion of cooperative federal-state-local programs requires a federal organization in the field that can participate in intergovernmental discussion on questions that have impact beyond single programs of individual federal agencies, as many programs now do, he added. Also, the growth of regional organizations of federal specialists such as personnel councils, purchasing officers groups, and accounting associations—more active than most of the councils of agency heads—tends "to obscure the importance of the generalist administrator." (*Annual Report of the Chair-*

man, Regional Council of Federal Agencies, Chicago [June, 1957], p. 1. mimeographed)

Mr. Hosch proposes that the Chicago Regional Council expand its membership to all agency heads, deputies, and assistants in the area, regardless of the number of employers or the boundaries of their region or area. He asks that such top executives of federal agencies attend meetings regularly rather than leaving attendance to lower-ranking observers. To make this easier, he calls for rotating meeting days and times so that all members can attend some meetings. Minutes should be circulated to keep all members informed.

The expanded councils, he suggests, should:

1. Act on issues affecting all federal agencies, for example group health insurance or vaccine for employees.
2. Represent regional points of view in Washington.
3. Provide a news outlet for federal programs in the region.
4. Make an effort to establish contact with organizations of state, county, and city employees for the coordination and exchange of information.
5. Invite top Washington officials to speak on the work of federal agencies.
6. Honor outstanding administrators, supervisors, and employees.
7. Support ASPA and other professional society activities and executive development programs.
8. Improve the community relations of federal agencies.

Copies of Mr. Hosch's report have been circulated to members of the Chicago Council

and the chairmen or presidents of Regional Councils or Federal Business Associations in the 43 of about 100 cities over 100,000 population that have or have had a local organization of federal field officials.

The Chicago Council has urged these other groups to make recommendations to their Washington offices for support and encouragement of their efforts toward field coordination and cooperation. Mr. Hosch suggested that Federal Councils and Business Associations are now "orphans who need more than one foster father." Inquiry as to the legal basis of the activities of organizations of federal agency field executives shows that their original charters have been buried without ceremonies. The Chicago Council makes a strong plea for their revival and for effective support by Washington department heads and the Office of the President.

The Administrator and Citizen Action

Rules for Citizen Committee Success

Frank C. Moore, president of the Government Affairs Foundation, has described methods used to select and guide five entirely successful citizen committees in New York State. (*Greater Citizen Participation in Government*, Institute of Local Government, 2317 Cathedral of Learning, Pittsburgh 13, Pennsylvania. \$1.03)

Some of Mr. Moore's suggestions:

1. Use citizens committees to solve difficult and urgent problems only.
2. Define precisely the question to be decided before the committee is formed.
3. Begin the fact-finding before selecting the committee; have a preliminary staff report ready for the first meeting; use the second and possibly the third meeting to complete fact reporting to members. Only then should discussion begin.
4. Select members who will inspire confidence in persons to whom their recommendations will be made. They need not know a great deal on the subject. They should not represent an organization.
5. Don't coax persons to be members; be frank about the lengthy sessions and frequent meetings, but keep the period of meetings short.
6. Release statements to the press only through the chairman, preferably with the members present.
7. The chairman should stimulate discussion,

often taking the weaker side and reserving the right to change his mind—and encouraging others to change theirs by his doing so.

8. Points of agreement and disagreement should be "pegged down" after each session.

Staff, Strong Leadership Needed

"We cannot escape the conclusion, upon really serious study, that most talk about 'grass roots' citizen action is just so much romanticizing. . . ." A paid staff is essential for effective long-term citizen action and a hard core of leadership is needed "to make positive decisions and to construct positive programs." But "*the grass roots has the power of the veto.*"

This is the conclusion of a study of citizen groups for neighborhood conservation in Chicago, by William K. Brussat. (*Citizens Organization for Neighborhood Conservation*, National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials Special Publication No. 12 (April, 1957))

The 1954 Housing Act requires citizen participation as part of its Workable Program qualification for federal aid. But, Mr. Brussat notes, most cities seem to be trying to work with citywide groups when neighborhoods are the important working unit. "There must be a community organization which can speak and act for most of the residents and, as an organization, influence and direct the voluntary participation of the individual property-owners in the program."

Paid staff provides (a) continuity, (b) timeliness in action, (c) centralized know-how, and (d) a clear-cut representative as liaison to city officials and others. Experience of the Chicago Office of Housing and Redevelopment Coordinator found that groups without an office and paid staff failed in these matters.

The professional staffs of Chicago neighborhood conservation groups come from a variety of backgrounds. No one background seems most appropriate, though a broad education and administrative experience are essential. Social workers trained for group work may be somewhat less successful than others, owing to their emphasis on the value of group organization per se and consequently less emphasis on the specific goal of neighborhood conservation.

Generally Chicago groups are financed by a

handful of persons, businesses, or organizations in the community, not as a charity but as a vendor of area conservation. A more general fund-raising attempt usually is too great a burden for available manpower and not worth its return. Even poor areas were able to finance groups, apparently without great effort.

The Chicago coordinator stimulated neighborhood organization by meeting major interest groups on a citywide basis (e.g. churches, real estate groups, and businessmen organizations) to describe the problem and their role in meeting it. At the same time, leaders of neighborhood groups were alerted to the needs and taught some techniques for overcoming blight. Between 1952 and 1955, the number of local groups with paid staffs working primarily on neighborhood improvement expanded from six to eighteen, and others were attempting to finance an office.

These groups do research on their areas, keep watch against violations of building, zoning, or housing codes, report nuisances such as abandoned cars and littered lots, arrange for amenities like tot-lots, stimulate home improvements, and act as real estate clearinghouses.

Citizen Action on Public Health

"Public health of the future will obtain its real dividends from programs that require a high degree of citizen participation." Dr. James A. Crabtree, head of the Department of Public Health Practice, University of Pittsburgh, told the 1956 Governmental Research Association conference in a speech published in "New Frontiers in Public Health," 2 *SCAA Viewpoint* 4 (February, 1957).

The *American Journal of Public Health* has reflected this concern by regularly including articles on obtaining program acceptance and support as well as on a related subject, working with nongovernmental groups.

Some ten of the sessions of the 1957 American Public Health Association conferences related directly to this subject, including a major symposium at which a distinguished Citizens' Committee received "testimony from representative public health workers on program changes and developments in community

health services" in a search for answers to the question: "Are We Getting Public Health in Tune with the Times?"

Early public health programs could be carried out without public support; water, sewage, and refuse were the main concerns. Later, when public health programs entered the private sphere, with such problems as food inspection, compulsory vaccination, and housing standards, a little education and the force of law were the major tools. Now, writes Robert E. Mytinger, program director of the Public Health Committee of the Paper Cup and Container Institute, we must make use of the greatly expanding sense of social consciousness of our citizens. More and more we should bring citizens into the decision-making process and encourage them to meet public health needs themselves. (47 *American Journal of Public Health* 9 [September, 1957])

Mr. Mytinger points to an award-winning program of county health sanitarians in Georgia who brought local organizations together to win a bond election for a sewage plant, obtained an agreement on minimum housing standards by a committee of realtors which resulted in a redevelopment program, formed a committee of nursing home people to guide sanitation practices, and worked with local garden clubs to eliminate open dumps.

Similarly, Tulsa's health department won an award for asking the city's Restaurant Association to investigate the need for a food sanitation training program for which the department had no funds. The association recognized the need and recommended that license fees be increased to provide funds for the training. The association also successfully requested that a written examination on health be given all food-handlers.

Bismarck, North Dakota's Health Department stimulated citizens to form a Home Improvement Association aimed at rehabilitating a rundown neighborhood of some 500 homes. Most of the owners followed the suggestion of the association and fixed up their residences; a new housing ordinance was passed to set legal standards.

In St. Louis County, Missouri, residents of a 44-block area of substandard dwellings who attended a meeting where the health

dangers of the neighborhood were described agreed that the Health Department should make a house-to-house survey of faults. A mass meeting heard the survey report and appointed a steering committee which named block captains to supervise improvements.

Important achievements of public policy through citizens, Mr. Mytinger warns, usually is possible only when the facts are presented by the government and the citizens are left to decide the action for themselves.

Intensified Public Relations for the Public Service

The U.S. Civil Service Commission has intensified public relations for the public service recently. It was the main point of Chairman Harris Ellsworth's address to the conference of the Public Personnel Association in Montreal October 1 and was emphasized in a talk to federal blue-collar workers at a district convention of the International Association of Machinists in September. Earlier in the year, the Commission's executive director, John Macy, told several groups that federal employment offers stimulating work and colleagues and improved salary and fringe benefits.

Mr. Ellsworth told the PPA: "... I am convinced that, taken as a whole, Government employees are certainly the equal of—and frequently are better than—those engaged in other employment. . . . I am sure quite a number of the citizens of our country know it; but I am not satisfied that enough people . . . have the high regard and appreciation for the civil service and its employees that is deserved. . . . I believe that the public service is held in much higher public esteem today than it was just a few years ago. On the other hand, the persistence of some old familiar criticisms is evidence that much still remains to be done."

As part of the public relations effort, a presidential gold medal award for Distinguished Federal Civilian Service was established recently, to be awarded to no more than five career employees each year for very outstanding service. Agency heads will nominate employees for the award; a board appointed by the President will make the selection.

The Civil Service Commission, Mr. Ellsworth revealed, is also working on encouraging and guiding community relations programs for federal agencies. He also described plans for the 75th anniversary next year of the federal, New York State, and New York City civil service systems.

Mr. Ellsworth urged the federal employees gathered at the machinist's convention "to improve public understanding of the career civil service." It is "absolutely essential to the government's success in recruiting the skills and abilities it needs to carry on its vitally important work. More than that, the maintenance and growth of the merit system itself depends upon an informed public opinion."

Look magazine contributed to the public relations of the public service with a three-page article in the May 14, 1957, issue titled "Bureaucrats Are People." In it, Fletcher Knebel, Washington correspondent for a number of Cowles publications, notes that "prominent businessmen of the Eisenhower administration have gone back to private industry to sing . . . [the public servants'] praises as an alert, efficient, hard-working fellow who ought to be paid more and who has no truck with laziness or Communists. Such praise is helping to explode the myth that the Federal worker couldn't hold a job of the same responsibility in industry. The fact is that thousands of Federal workers are snared by industry every year at bigger pay."

The "myths" that federal workers abuse sick leave and cannot be fired, and that red tape soon saps their initiative are spiked by Mr. Knebel. "Actually," he writes, "the excitement of a new Federal enterprise, such as the Hungarian-refugee lift this winter or the continuous 'flaps' at the Pentagon generate problems to test the wits of the most agile."

"... the federal service may be entering a new era," he concludes, "where the worker can follow a rewarding and secure career that matches his potential—and be proud of it."

The National Civil Service League's ten top career award winners were publicized along with the article. The NCSL is distributing reprints.

Another effort to publicize opportunities in

public service has been initiated by the International Association of Personnel in Employment Security. A committee has published the first of a series of pamphlets on careers in this field.

Urban Impact of Federal Highway Program

Insufficient consideration of the impact on cities of the federal highway program was strongly criticized by planning and government experts at a conference on "The New Highways: Challenge to the Metropolitan Region," sponsored by the Connecticut General Life Insurance Company and held in Hartford, Connecticut, September 9-12, 1957. (The individual papers presented to the conference have been issued in multilithed form.)

"Certainly there is no evidence that federal and state agencies, or Congress and state legislatures, have sought to develop a transport policy at all, much less one related to the other factors involved in making metropolitan communities more livable and economically efficient," Victor Jones, professor of political science, University of California (Berkeley), said.

"... Highways are being planned by state and federal agencies, approved by a federal agency, financed in large part by the federal government, and constructed by the states without concern with whether transportation in metropolitan areas will be better or worse, or with their effect on the density of population or its distribution, or on the uses of land," he added.

Luther Gulick, president of the Institute of Public Administration, stated: "It will take a hundred years to repair some of the blunders we are now making in our highway enthusiasm, blunders which could now be avoided by the simple device of bringing into the deciding process a wider and longer metropolitan viewpoint."

Planning consultant Ladislav Segoe commented: "I doubt whether the planners of the current highway building program have even been aware of the need for, and the unique opportunity which the program affords, to further the reshaping of the present national urban and metropolitan pattern—with the view of bringing about over the years an

economically more effective and socially more desirable distribution nationally of our urban population and production plant. . . ."

Similarly, Boyd T. Barnard, chairman, Central Business District Council of the Urban Land Institute, noted: "Urban renewal plans will likewise fail and perhaps add more to urban blight if they are not coordinated with highway plans. As has been so ably pointed out by Wilfred Owen, there is not now nor are there definite future plans for an effective liaison between the two programs. Either one is the most significant undertaking for the betterment of our metropolitan areas that has occurred in our lifetime, but each will be completely ineffective without the other." Author Lewis Mumford asserted there had been no coordination whatsoever of federal housing and highway plans. Both he and Mr. Gulick sharply criticized planning that centered on cars instead of people.

One cause of the dearth of planning for the impact of the highway programs on metropolitan areas is that in few areas is there a unit of government that can speak for the metropolis. "The Bureau of Public Roads will speak with one voice, and the state highway commission will speak with one voice, but there is generally no one voice in the metropolitan area to speak for the local governments," Dennis O'Harrow, executive director, American Society of Planning Officials, pointed out. In the interest of speed, since metropolitan forms of government are still in experimental stages, Mr. O'Harrow urged advisory metropolitan planning commissions.

Mr. Jones was skeptical that metropolitan planning without metropolitan government would be effective. "There has been wide experience with intergovernmental arrangements in metropolitan areas, ranging from informal personal understandings of public officials to the creation of joint agencies for the administration of particular programs. This experience does not indicate that any intergovernmental arrangement short of the creation of a joint metropolitan transportation agency will be sufficient," he reported.

Mr. Gulick, too, called for "official machinery for local coordinated governmental action . . . not an impotent structure for wishful

thinking only." He suggested a federal form of metropolitan government.

In addition, he argued for "better coordination of all state and Federal activities and programs which have an impact on the metropolitan regions. No state or Federal program dealing with highways, rail and air commerce, ports, parks, water, pollution control, general drainage, civil defense, urban renewal, housing, health, education, or crime should go forward without the consideration of the interrelation of the program with other governmental activities as they hit the metropolitan regions. This is a big order, but it is high time that central government took as much interest in the big cities and their surroundings as it now takes in Indian reservations and agricultural regions."

The White House Encourages Public Works Planning

Intergovernmental as well as interprogram coordination of all public works is encouraged in a booklet recently released by the Special Assistant to the President for Public Works Planning. (*Planning for Public Works*. U.S. Government Printing office, July, 1957. Pp. 25. \$0.30)

The publication suggests steps to take toward comprehensive planning, suggested organizations for metropolitan and for regional planning units that cross state lines, and a sketch of a coordinating arrangement of federal, state, and local planning. Informal coordination is urged until formal organizations for public works planning among governments have been established.

Federal-State Action Committee

The Joint Federal-State Action Committee, composed of high-ranking federal officials appointed by the President and Governors appointed by Governor William G. Stratton of Illinois, chairman of the Governor's Conference, has agreed to report its recommendations for improved federal-state relations by December 1.

The committee believes that sufficient research has been done on the subject and that

it should concentrate on agreeing on politically feasible action. Most of the discussion at its first meeting was aimed at listing minor federal taxes which could be relinquished to the states and federal aid that could be terminated.

At its October meeting, the committee agreed to recommend that 40 per cent of the federal tax on local telephone calls—some \$150 million a year—be remitted to the states where collected. In return, federal aid for natural disaster relief, vocational education, and municipal sewage disposal would be eliminated. Federal contributions to these programs amount to about \$105 million so the states, in the aggregate, would increase their tax returns over federal grants lost by \$45 million. However, these federal grants have not been distributed to the states on the basis of number of telephones.

Questions still under consideration are relinquishment by the federal government of \$167 million in annual excise taxes on such things as admissions, cabaret bills, and safe deposit boxes, and a larger part or all of inheritance taxes now split 90 per cent for the federal government, 10 per cent for the states. On the other hand, elimination of federal aid for school lunches and milk is being studied. A proposal that would have cut slightly federal participation in supplementary old age assistance was rejected.

Plans for intergovernmental relationships on such emerging problems as metropolitan government, the aging, juvenile delinquency, water use and conservation, highway safety, and education are also on the agenda.

The request of the American Municipal Association to have municipalities represented on the action committee was denied.

In the same period an Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations has been holding hearings on federal-aid programs. The Municipal Association told that committee that when the federal government vacated tax fields, municipalities still might not be able to step into fields now under federal sponsorship. Municipalities, AMA said, have no untapped income sources. AMA also spoke for direct federal-local grant programs without the state standing between.

Training for Business Management

Ten years ago there were no more than 15,000 business executives attending formal training courses in the United States; today there are close to 300,000, the American Management Association's president, Lawrence A. Appley, said in an interview for *Management Methods*. (Vol. 12, pp. 24-28, 67-71, July, 1957)

The biggest benefit they receive from a training course is stimulation "to think about management and see the methods other companies are using to do a better job," Mr. Appley added.

Management training generally involves helping a man make the "vital shift" from specialist to generalist. "He will never make the shift until he gets away from the job for a week, or three weeks, or three months, goes somewhere and does nothing but *think* about the fact that he must drop his . . . specialty and become a manager. . . . I have seen this take place—I have almost heard men's minds click when it suddenly dawned on them that 'I am no longer the best engineer in the world—I am now trying to be the best engineering manager.'"

Management training may be overdone, but "I haven't met anyone who has had too much management training," he said. He pointed to the president of Weatherford Oil Company, Texas, who "spends a good percentage of his time in management courses. . . . Has he overdone it? Well, . . . his company is booming." Mr. Appley characterized the manager of today as "a student. I call him very definitely a professional."

The American Management Association's Academy of Advanced Management opened on a large campus at Saranac Lake, New York, in September. Courses formerly offered in New York City will continue there, and within a year several new courses are anticipated including one for company training directors on management development and another to teach oral and visual presentations to executives. Eventually the academy expects to offer an internship program in which future business executives will learn how to plan, assign, supervise, appraise, and improve work, and motivate persons.

Dedicating the new campus, Don G. Mitch-

ell, president of Sylvania Electric Products, Incorporated, called the event "one of the most significant developments in this country's economic history—the emergence of the professional manager."

Developments in Federal Management, 1956

Changes in the organization of federal agencies in 1956 are reported in the seventeenth report of the Senate Committee on Government Operations to the Congress. (*Organization of Federal Executive Departments and Agencies*, Committee Report No. 17, 85th Congress, 1st Sess.) Some highlights:

Organization

The growing importance of federal assistance to local and state groups seeking industrial development raised the Office of Area Development to a primary unit of the Office of the Secretary of Commerce, serviced administratively by that office.

Employees stationed overseas to figure costs of foreign shipping (required to set subsidy rates for U.S. shipping) are now independent of the State Department, following an agreement between that department and the Department of Commerce that the Maritime Administration should have jurisdiction over these representatives. The reasons for this change were that the operation is solely for the benefit of one agency of the government and for the purpose of a domestic law, and it is not an activity suited to the Foreign Service.

An additional Assistant Secretary was provided the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, splitting responsibilities for legislation from those for program analysis.

A decentralization program of the Post Office was completed with the activation of the last of fifteen regional offices; the Washington headquarters staff was reduced 7 per cent.

A broadened research program for the Post Office was heralded by the establishment of the Office of Research and Engineering, reporting directly to the Postmaster General.

The State Department caught up with its current organization and published an organization manual.

An outside survey firm completed a study

of General Services Administration organization. Following the study recommendations, two Assistant Administrators, for Planning and for Administration, have been appointed. Responsibilities of the Offices of Management, Public Information and Reports, and Compliance and Security were divided between them and the offices eliminated. Other major readjustments also were made.

Management and Program Analysis

The Air Force eliminated 13,000 positions by a thorough analysis of program priorities through Project Wringout. Positions were eliminated both by dropping programs and by reorganization.

The Bureau of Customs cut the cost of each \$100 collected by nearly 6 per cent through delegating additional authority to collectors, extending spot-checking methods, eliminating some checks on goods, and arranging checking more conveniently for the collectors.

Automatic Data Processing

Senior policy representatives of the Defense Department were brought together in a Data Systems Policy Council to foster development of common policies and joint programs for the data-processing equipment of the department. A research staff was set up to assist the council. In addition, the Department of the Air Force began a study of the proper Headquarters location for automatic data processing.

Electronic equipment prompted consolidation of check payment and check reconciliation in the Treasurer's Office. These functions had been divided between the Office of the Treasurer and the General Accounting Office.

Personnel

The Office of Personnel Management of the Commerce Department was relieved of responsibility for operating the personnel programs of a number of units of the department and is now solely a staff arm of the Secretary for over-all personnel leadership in the department.

Integration of the Department of State personnel with the Foreign Service continued with 422 appointments to the service from department personnel and the Foreign Service

Reserve and Staff Corps. The integration program ended in 1956 with a total of 1,255 persons transferred.

Recruitment for the Foreign Service was intensified. A campus visiting program brought 12,595 applications. The department also looked to staff promotion by establishing a Career Development and Counseling Staff.

Administrative Organization and Policy

Claims that the location of a program in one agency rather than another will alter program policies are challenged by a case study of the employment security program, whose numerous shifts among federal agencies have been accompanied by arguments more related to policy than to administrative logic. Policy changes, the study tends to show, have not followed the arguments. Congress has had final control of policy, in spite of the parent agency's policy preferences. The study is reported in Francis E. Rourke, "The Politics of Administrative Organization: A Case History," 19 *Journal of Politics* 461-78 (August, 1957).

Three examples are noted:

1. The transfer of the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization with its employment service for immigrants to the Department of Labor did result, by administrative initiative, in grafting onto the program for immigrants a placement service for citizens. But lack of appropriation kept the service stunted until Congress officially established the United States Employment Service. The efforts, therefore, of an agency enthusiastic about expanding a minor service to a major one were very limited until Congress intended to have the job done.

2. Following World War II, the proposed transfer of the entire employment security program to the Department of Labor was defeated by opponents who feared prolabor bias in its administration. The transfer finally was made in 1949, principally as a result of the recommendation of the Hoover Commission. But threats by the department to use its powers of supervision of state programs to end what might be interpreted as antilabor practices (refusing unemployment compensation to those who would not take jobs vacated

by strikes) brought congressional action sharply to limit its supervisory authority.

3. Certain funds from the program, previously deposited in the Treasury without earmarking, were placed in a reserve fund for the states or returned to the states over the opposition of the Department of Labor.

New Methods to Study Effects of Organization

Methods of penetrating deeper into the effects of organization, both of primary groups and of the whole organization within its environment, are proposed by Peter Blau in an article, "Formal Organization: Dimensions of Analysis," 63 *American Journal of Sociology*, 58-69 (July, 1957). The analysis he suggests consists of at least three dimensions.

The *structural* dimension relates to interaction of individuals. To learn more about the effects of the group's structure on whatever we wish to study, e.g. productivity, turnover, quality, we must analyze group characteristics (rather than characteristics of the individuals within the group as has been done most commonly). To analyze a group, one must first measure the characteristics of its members that bear on each other; for example, their identification with the group, their choices of social relationships, and their initiation of interaction. These characteristics of the individuals within the group then may be combined into an index describing not the individuals but the group, i.e. the extent to which members strongly identify with the group, or all individuals initiate communications, and so forth. Then this index can be related to the effects to be studied for a number of groups.

The difference between a group characteristic and the characteristics of the members of the group, and the importance of the difference in understanding the effects of organization, are shown by an illustration. To test the hypothesis that performance is improved by free flow of communications in a work group, it is not sufficient to compare frequency of communication of individuals to their performance, for this might indicate only that the individuals who tend to communicate a great deal perform better than those who do not. To test the relevance of freedom of com-

munication to performance, it is necessary to compare communication within groups in which the individual drive to communicate already has been measured, i.e. those who tend to communicate readily are already distinguished, so that the amount of communication is a function of the organization rather than of individual drives.

The *organizational* dimension is related to an over-all policy of the organization, e.g. personnel or supervisory practices. Mr. Blau found, for example, that when a statistical record was kept of the performance of employment service interviewers, their behavior toward clients, each other, and their supervisors changed significantly. He warns, however, that there is seldom a direct relationship between the changed behavior and the changed policy, even when the relationship seems at a glance to be directly related. Usually there are intervening layers of cause and effect. He notes that the more impersonal treatment of clients, observed when statistical performance records were initiated, would seem to have followed directly from the more impersonal statistical control device, but, in fact, a quite complex psychological change apparently took place.

Though isolating the effects of organizational policies on performance is very difficult, we can study the wide variations of performance in divisions of the same organization and analyze empirical studies done in different organizations from the point of view of the effects of organization policy.

The *developmental* dimension deals with time. Any attempt to adjust to a problem raises new problems requiring new adjustments, and continuing adjustment to problems adds experience and therefore modifies the ways in which the organization adjusts. But few studies carry over in one organization for a sufficient time to study these changes. Systematic interviewing and observation at repeated intervals, perhaps a year or more apart, probably is the only practical way to come at such a study.

Air Force Management Adjustment to Univac

Speeding the budget cycle by passing data in the form of punched cards or magnetic

tapes to and from Air Force Headquarters, Air Materiel Command, and Depots is being developed by the Air Force. First, data terms must be made comparable. For example, the term "total active aircraft" has had different meanings depending upon the question to be answered. Standard format of data also must be achieved.

"Solving problems of this type among a group of decentralized installations could be almost as slow and difficult as it was to achieve standardization of materials and components in industry," an Air Force official writes. "However, early progress is excellent. . . ."

In the five years since Univac went to work for Air Force program planners, it has been used to figure supply and personnel requirements under specific war and mobilization plans, and assignment of aircraft and scheduling of flights of various users. Use of the computer in analyzing the implications of long-range Air Force plans "has already had a definite impact on the thinking of high level management. . . ."

A new model for preparing data for the computer was developed which doubled output over the previous system, and new developments are under construction.

These developments are described in an article by Walter Jacobs, "Air Force Progress in Logistics Planning," 3 *Management Science* 213-24 (April, 1957).

Air Force Decentralizes Management Engineering

Management engineering responsibility has been decentralized in the Air Force, from Headquarters, USAF, to major commands.

Headquarters will keep track of studies crossing command lines, work on and publish improved techniques, encourage management engineering programs including intensive briefings for commanders and their staffs, and provide staff advice and, on occasion, solutions to special problems of Air-Force-wide importance.

Training for management engineering is being considered, including possible university course work in industrial engineering, accounting, and business administration and the establishment of a school similar to the Army's Rock Island Ordinance Training

Center to teach techniques such as time study, labor standard establishment, work simplification, and equipment layout. Some of these subjects also may be taught in base management courses.

"... assignments in management engineering ... [are] a logical step along the progression ladder toward command responsibility," according to *Management Summary Sheet* July, 1957 (AFOMO USAF Periodical 11-4).

Reorganization for Closer Coordination in the Field

Coordination in the field of the closely-related programs maintained by separate divisions of the New York State Conservation Department is the main purpose of a reorganization plan prepared by the Administrative Management Unit of the Budget Division at the request of the department, described in A. W. Bromley, "A New Day," 11 *The New York State Conservationist* 2-4 (April-May, 1957).

The Divisions of Fish and Game and Lands and Forests now operate separate field offices, unrelated to each other. In addition, the Fish and Game Division's district headquarters for law enforcement are separate from those for game and for fish management in all but three instances.

Recognizing that the elements of natural resources management—water, soil, forests, fish, and game—are closely interrelated, the department looked for an organization which would be more suited to a unified conservation policy.

Under the proposed organization, the 40 separate districts would be replaced by 13 combined districts, the Divisions of Fish and Game and Lands and Forests using the same field headquarters. An administrative assistant, responsible to an assistant commissioner for administration, would represent staff services in field offices. A conservation education office for the whole department would be maintained at headquarters.

Management's Task—To Lead or To Control?

Narrow span of control for top management implies a job of face-to-face direction

and control of policy rather than the over-all leadership which current organization research indicates is preferable, a teacher of business administration at the University of California asserts in a continuation of a magazine debate with Lyndall F. Urwick. (Waino W. Suojanen, "Leadership, Authority, and the Span of Control," 22 *Advanced Management* 22 (September, 1957).)

If we accept recent research findings which argue for decentralization, a minimum of supervision, and a great deal of leadership on general direction and imparting of a sense of identification with organization, then narrow span of control is unnecessary and encourages overcontrol of subordinates.

If the leaders consider the culture of the organization and the society in policy-making, close supervision is not necessary in large organizations because participants identify with the organization as an institution, not with an individual supervisor. "The wide span of control is consciously employed to make sure that the supervisor *supervises and leads* rather than becoming involved in the technical details of work at subordinate levels."

Another organization analyst argues that no formal organization based on principles we follow today can be fit for mature human beings. The very traits we regard as indicating maturity make the individual unfit for participation in the formal organization. "This dilemma between individual needs and organization demands is a basic, continual problem posing an eternal challenge to the leader . . . [and to] future research in organizational behavior." (Chris Argyris, "The Individual and Organization: Some Problems of Mutual Adjustment," 2 *Administrative Science Quarterly* 24 (June, 1957).)

The Federal Budget: How Much Cut?

Congress left Washington this summer claiming a massive saving of \$5.0 to \$6.5 billion from the President's proposed budget. The President responded that it had cut only about \$1 billion.

After analysis, the Bureau of the Budget placed the figure halfway between, at \$3 billion. Additional appropriations over the President's request would have raised the total nearly a billion dollars had the President

not vetoed the federal employees' pay raise and a veterans housing loan bill.

More recently the bureau found that, despite cuts in appropriations, actual spending for fiscal 1958 would be up, owing to commitments previously made. For example, a huge wheat crop will raise the cost of farm price supports, rising interest rates will increase payments on the debt, contracts of several years ago to induce new metals production have brought in unexpectedly large stockpiles, and there are unanticipated drains on the Export-Import Bank.

Some congressional appropriation cuts will have effects later, however.

Women in the Federal Service

Women constituted 20 per cent of the professional personnel in the federal service, exclusive of administrators, in 1954; they were only 8 per cent in 1938-39, the last time a survey was made. However, the percentage of women among federal administrators has scarcely changed.

Many more women in 1954 were filling jobs as accountants, chemists, draftsmen, economists, information specialists, legal documents examiners, mathematicians, medical technicians, nurses, and statisticians than in 1938-39; almost no more women were doctors, engineers, or lawyers.

While one-fourth of all federal employees and one-half of the white-collar workers were women, they constituted only 1 per cent of personnel in the supergrade positions, GS-16, 17, 18; less than 3 per cent in GS 12 and above; and only 13 per cent in positions between GS 6 and 11.

Although some women held positions in 381 of the 502 major occupational groups listed by the Civil Service Commission, three-fourths were in 12 of these groups. (*Women in the Federal Service, 1954*, Women's Bureau Pamphlet Four. U. S. Government Printing Office, 1957. Pp. 15, \$0.15.)

New Personnel Manager for the U.S.

Rocco C. Siciliano, 35, has been named special assistant to the President for personnel management to undertake duties formerly handled by the chairman of the U.S. Civil

Service Commission. At 31, he was appointed Assistant Secretary of Labor for Manpower and Employment on the recommendation of Martin Durkin, then Secretary of Labor. According to *The Government Standard* (September 20, 1957), Mr. Durkin had sat across the bargaining table from him when Mr. Siciliano was Assistant Secretary-Treasurer of Procon, Incorporated, Des Plaines, Illinois. Before going to Procon, Mr. Siciliano was a legal assistant to a member of the National Labor Relations Board.

The new office will not handle patronage, according to newspaper reports.

Sampling in Classification Studies

Sampling has replaced 100 per cent survey in classification studies of the California Personnel Board. Formerly, each employee in a unit completed a job description form, which was reviewed by his supervisor. Now more time is spent in studying the organization and interviewing employees and supervisors. The board reports to an agency only the kinds of changes proposed, with some specific examples. The agency is expected to make other changes analogous to the samples. The system assumes that the agency, not the Personnel Board, is responsible for classification of its employees.

Misclassifications found in such surveys have run between 4 and 8 per cent, including far more underclassification than over. When a position is believed to be overclassified or poorly located, the survey staff works with line management to find reassignment possibilities for the incumbent.

The survey process and report aim at helping the agency maintain current classifications. Often, descriptions of the factors characteristic of various job levels (e.g. intermediate, senior, or supervisory) accompany the report to help both the employee and line management understand the differences. (8 *The California State Employee* 4 (August, 1957).)

Participation of Line Agencies in Civil Service Examining

Two-thirds of the 31 largest states and municipalities indicate there is close coopera-

tion between operating agencies and personnel officers in selection and promotion examinations.

A survey of the 10 largest states and 21 largest cities, by Norman J. Powell and Marilyn Magner of the New York City Board of Higher Education, indicates that line agencies of 4 of these units often write their own examinations and 11 do on occasion; line departments in 13 units often serve as examiners and 5 do on occasion. In addition, 3 of the units looked forward to more participation by line agencies.

"Neither the qualitative nor the quantitative data conclusively buttresses the feasibility or desirability of one or another examinations arrangement between the central and the operating personnel agencies," the writers conclude. ("Relations of Operating Agencies to the Examining Process," 18 *Public Personnel Review* 159 (July, 1957).)

Internships for Personnel Technicians

A year-long internship for personnel technicians, in which the intern would work in the various line departments as a "utility" man rather than in personnel, has been proposed by Wilbur L. Jenkins, personnel director of Maricopa County, Arizona. Except that he should report his observations regularly to the personnel department, the trainee would have no ties to that department during the internship year. The purpose would be to acquaint him with jobs, people, and operating department problems before he accepts responsibility in the personnel field. ("Why Not a Personnel Technician Intern Program?" 18 *Public Personnel Review* 172-77 (July, 1957).)

Political Executives Wanted in Washington

In 1953, the Eisenhower administration had little trouble in getting business executives to join the crusade in Washington. Now, it is very difficult to find business leaders to fill either Cabinet or sub-Cabinet posts. "'Help Wanted' Sign Out," 43 *U.S. News and World Report* 88-90, August 9, 1957, analyzes the reasons.

First there are the financial losses: salaries well below the incomes of most business execu-

utives, the cost of moving and maintaining two homes, the need to sever business connections and sell stock to satisfy conflict-of-interest laws, and the possible loss of pension rights.

Then there is the hard transition between business and government:

1. The businessman is accountable to Congress for all his acts.
2. Criticism is harsh and public.
3. "Politics is everywhere—the businessman is unused to it."
4. Decisions must fit within a fixed political policy.
5. His authority and influence are less than expected. "In Government, important decisions must be worked out with others in the Administration and with Congress."
6. Decisiveness, a quality that typifies many business executives, is not useful in government. Rather, consultation, persuasion, and compromise are.
7. Action is slower following a decision. "There may be resistance lower down that would not be tolerated in the business world."
8. Outside control of budget and personnel is rigid.
9. There is no measuring rod of success as clear as profits in business.

Organization for State Medical Care Program for Needy

Under contract with the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare, an interdisciplinary faculty committee of the University of Pennsylvania has surveyed the state's practices in paying for institutional medical care for those who cannot afford it. The committee included a professor of sociology as chairman, and professors of state government, social statistics, preventive medicine, insurance, governmental administration, and medical administration. A staff of five did the research. A Special Advisory Committee, made up of four Pennsylvania physicians, asked the University to make the study.

Finding that seven state departments were responsible for phases of medical programs for the needy sick, the committee said:

Improved administration of all social welfare programs would result from consolidation of the following functions in a single department:

financial assistance to the needy, including medical programs; hospital aid to the medically needy; vocational rehabilitation; services for the blind; and social services for children and the aged.

The committee also proposed that:

1. State medical and surgical hospitals be transferred to voluntary auspices, probably with state subsidy for the transition period.
2. State aid to hospitals be provided in the form of payments for specific services for the medically needy. A formula for establishing service payments was recommended.
3. Care should be purchased in all types of institutions, including governmental and sectarian, which are not now used.

For further information, see *A Survey and a Statement of Principles on Tax-Supported Medical Institutional Care for the Needy and Medically Needy of Pennsylvania*. Department of Welfare, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (January, 1957), pp. 339.

Social Scientists Contribution to National Defense Policy

A feeling that national defense has become a unique program field requiring special approaches to solve policy and administrative problems—perhaps because nuclear weapons and the two-pole division of the world have made the present too different from the past to rely on history for solutions—has resulted in a dozen new university courses on defense and the publication of a number of special research papers. Growth of scholarly interest stimulated the Social Science Research Council's five-year-old Committee on National Security Policy Research to call a meeting at Dartmouth College this summer of fifty scholars and military and civilian defense officials to explore ways social science research "could throw light on issues of national security," stimulate research, and encourage policy-makers to make use of it.

Explored were ways of finding answers in the social sciences to such questions as: methods of limited warfare, possibilities of deterrents, circumstances in which nuclear weapons might be used, disarmament potential, relationships of strategy and diplomacy, and domestic problems of long-term intense preparedness.

Many participants felt that secrecy of military documents is not a serious hindrance to useful research. Political and psychological implications of military problems could be studied through available material, particularly such new concepts as limited war and the relationship of disarmament to strategy.

To facilitate communication between policy-makers and social scientists, brief conferences or longer seminars and individual consultation were proposed.

A report of the meeting is contained in Bryce Wood, "Report on the Conference on National Security Policy: Problems of Research and Teaching," 11 *Social Science Research Council Items* 29-32 (September, 1957).

Graduate Study To Be Analyzed

Objectives, standards, and functions of the graduate school in the American system of higher education and its relationship to professional and undergraduate education will be studied by Bernard Berelson, recently returned to the University of Chicago as professor of behavioral sciences, formerly director of the Ford Foundation's Behavioral Sciences Program. The study is sponsored by Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Administrators as Part of City's Power Structure

Gary, Indiana's power structure—including the areas of discretion and spheres of competence of city administrators—has been investigated this past summer by a team directed by Peter Rossi, assistant professor of sociology, University of Chicago. In particular, the city comptroller has been followed for many hours to see the kinds of decisions he makes and how he makes them. Other department heads also were observed and their backgrounds noted.

The study, which also looked at the business community, social agencies, the relationship of economic organization to community organization, persons active in nonpartisan civic organizations, and relationships between party precinct captains, the party hierarchy, and the people, was carried out under a Social Science Research Council grant awarded by

the American Government Process Committee.

State Constitutional Revision

Aid, information, and encouragement for persons seeking revision of state constitutions is the aim of a three-year research and publication project of the National Municipal League, financed by a grant from the Ford Foundation.

Plans for education for citizens and practical guides for those directly working on constitutional revision include the following: (1) a monograph on the future role of the states and the implications for their constitutions, (2) an explanation for citizens of common areas of dissatisfaction with state constitutions, alternative remedies, and obstacles to change, (3) an administrative manual for a state constitutional convention, (4) a manual for convention delegates, and (5) a revision of the League's *Model State Constitution*.

Twenty-five experts on state government and constitutions met in September to advise the League as the program got under way.

Air Pollution District as Case Study in Regional Government

Decision-making and administration of the Bay Area Air Pollution Control District will be analyzed by the Bureau of Public Administration, University of California (Berkeley), as a case study in regional government. Stanley Scott, public administration analyst, will direct the study.

Active members of the district are six counties in the San Francisco area; each county board of supervisors chooses one of its members to sit on the governing board and a meeting of all the mayors in each county selects a mayor or councilman as a member. Three additional counties in the area are not yet active members of the district.

A similar regional government pattern—which the bureau feels may "have a good deal to recommend it for the government of a regional agency in a metropolitan area"—was authorized by the state legislature this year for a San Francisco Bay Area Rapid Transit District and for city-county regional planning anywhere in the state.

Society Perspectives

CREATIVE LEADERSHIP IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

THE identification of public administration as a career field, with its own body of knowledge and skills, is a relatively recent phenomenon—mostly a product of the last quarter century. Much new ground remains to be broken in developing the science and art of this field. In this development, the American Society for Public Administration has a key role as a nationwide association through which career administrators, social scientists, management experts, and others jointly gather information, seek insights, test theories, and spread the gospel about governmental executive affairs.

I

IN THIS role the Society is exercising intellectual and professional leadership. By bringing together the diverse ideas, data, and personalities of public administration, ASPA promotes creative thought about the real-life workings of government.

This kind of thinking, hammered into expression by the writers and teachers and speech-makers, provides the philosophical underpinnings for the activities of the Society. Many of these activities are directed toward translating understanding about administration into more effective administrative action. There is a strong practical focus in services like *Management Forum*, management institutes, administrators clinics, the Personnel Exchange, and administrative information. But the focus on the practical—on agency and personal improvement—is in the perspective of deeper interests regarding the nature of administration and its place in democratic government.

In developing these fundamental interests,

involving basic social values and relationships, ASPA is most effective when the interchange of views that it encourages is widest. Administration is not something of the isolated laboratory or the solitary scholar but is rather in the warp and woof of all organized human effort. Both those who plan and act and those who analyze and reflect, the administrators and the politicians as well as the researchers and the teachers, must contribute their insights and cautions and experiences to the pool of knowledge about administration if our understanding of it is to grow. These contributions should come from every governmental level, from various staff and line activities, from positions of different hierarchical status, from quasi-public and business fields—in short, from the whole spectrum of administration and politics.

Such widespread discussion calls for clear writing and plain speaking, with numerous concrete cases to support general analysis, in terms equally within the grasp of sophisticated practitioners, management researchers, and administrative theorists. The craftsmen of words can deal with great and complex subjects simply; no field offers greater reason for such treatment than public administration. Neither professional jargon nor mass argot can serve here as the language of intellectual leadership.

II

THE Society provides various approaches to a better understanding of public administration. These are complementary ways of working nationally or locally on the administrative frontier—some suited to the writer or

reader, to the talker or listener, to the "lone wolf" or "organization man."

Publications. Articles and book reviews in the *Public Administration Review* have been prime avenues of thoughtful administrative discussion since 1940. Recent changes to provide a more interesting format and more emphasis on managerial subjects are designed to increase the *Review's* usefulness. The same end will be served by introducing more controversy and reader comments into the *Review* through symposia, pro-and-con articles, letters to the editor, and similar devices approved by the Editorial Board at its September meeting.

Other Society publications, planned or in preparation, also offer opportunities for dealing with public administration fundamentals. These materials include reports of conferences, institutes, and study groups as well as special monographs by individual experts. In addition, ASPA informs its members about significant outside materials through the *Review*, the "Administrators Bookshelf" in the *News*, and the bimonthly *Social Sciences Library Service Notes*. In its own publications and in outside references, the Society keeps in mind the interests of both practitioners and academicians.

Meetings. Panels and workshops at Society conferences and institutes are likewise useful forums for exploring new administrative concepts. Recent discussions have focused, for example, on the political executive, administrative communication, personal motivation, metropolitan government, decision-making, interdepartmental committees, and science and administration, as well as on particular line and staff activities. In keeping with ASPA's basic character—as a meeting ground for administrators, administrative researchers, and teachers of administration—these discussions bring together persons of widely different views and organizational connections. In these diverse groups, challenging new ways of looking at administrative problems often develop and meet with general acceptance.

Committees. Special studies of public administration questions by Society committees are another line of attack on the professional frontiers. Important current examples are the Committee on Education and Training and

the Committee on Research Needs and Resources, each with a distinguished membership drawn from all facets of public administration. ASPA also breaks new ground through the National Advisory Committee (which makes policy recommendations to the Council) and the International Committee (which steers the Society's international activities). The outstanding leadership of these groups—headed, respectively, by Luther Gulick, Donald Stone, Carleton Sharpe, and Paul Herzog—helps insure the productivity of their work. In establishing other committees, ASPA should observe similar high standards.

Chapters. Locally, the Society operates through the chapters to further the development of public administration as an art and science. Chapter meetings, continuing study groups, and special local committees are major activities of this sort. The accomplishments of local committees have in some instances been outstanding, as for example the state training program improvements spurred by a Capital District Chapter committee in Albany, New York, and the public administration Code of Ethics developed by a Washington State Chapter group in Seattle. In these local projects, again, new insights and program plans arise from interchange of views among diverse administrators.

The creative efforts of the chapters may be linked more closely to similar national efforts as ASPA matures. This is likely to result, in part, simply from better exchange of information through Society headquarters. In addition, it may become desirable to encourage joint chapter and national participation in a common study project, perhaps of intergovernmental administrative relations or some other cross-sectional topic, as was tried in tentative fashion a few years ago. But such developments should not discourage chapter initiative in exploring new fields. Often local action leads the way for the Society.

III

IN PIONEERING new thinking, ASPA cannot walk alone. The Society usually operates better to stimulate individuals and groups to work in an area than to become itself a researcher. For this work, ASPA may serve as liaison, information exchange, testing ground,

and channel of publication. When the Society does undertake a study, the subject should be of national interest to public administrators—like the educational and research matters now before ASPA committees. In any case, the Society ought to keep informed—as “Research Notes” and “Contemporary Topics” in the *Review* currently help to do—about the general status of public administration scholarship. This requires friendly ties with the universities, management consultants, citizen research agencies, administrative planning units in government, and the numerous associations of public administration specialists. In professional leadership, ASPA does not duplicate but instead complements and enhances what is being done by individual scholars and by other groups.

The need for creative leadership, broad and realistic, is evident in many aspects of public administration. The job of the governmental executive, for example, is being redefined with greater attention to its policy-making and public relations aspects. The personal and informal sides of administration, including matters of individual and group psychology, are receiving more stress while formal structure is less emphasized. The established concepts fa-

voring centralized staff services, unitary lines of authority, and limited span of control are being reexamined. The old problems of federalism and administrative pluralism, aggravated by our metamorphosis into a metropolitan society, are being reviewed—with a kinder eye than formerly to *ad hoc* devices like committees, interagency agreements, and local flexibility. Thus it goes—for these examples could easily be doubled or trebled, all to the point that the demands on ASPA for professional leadership are great and undeniable.

As the dynamic center of an emerging profession, the Society gives high priority to the search of the adventurous administrators and academic scholars for fuller knowledge and better understanding of the unsolved problems of public administration. With equal zeal, ASPA is working through various action-oriented services to translate the old and new insights about administration into better administrative practice and richer administrative careers. These two aspects of the Society program feed one another—keeping theory and practice knit together, as they need to be if the one is not to become unreal and the other routine.

ROBERT J. M. MATTESON

ASPA National Conference
March 23-26, 1958—Sunday through Wednesday
Hotel Statler, New York, New York

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